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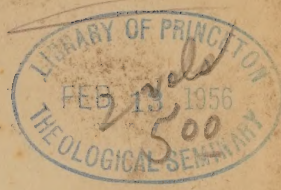

HISTORY

OF THE

METHODIST CHURCH

WITHIN THE TERRITORIES
EMBRACED IN THE LATE CONFERENCE

OF

EASTERN BRITISH AMERICA,

INCLUDING
NOVA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND AND BERMUDA.

By T. WATSON SMITH,
Of the Nova Scotia Conference.

VOL. I.

HALIFAX, N.S.:
METHODIST BOOK ROOM, 125 GRANVILLE STREET.
1877.

Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year 1877, *by* T. WATSON SMITH, *in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.*

Printed and Published
for the Proprietor,
by A. W. NICOLSON,
125 Granville Street,
Halifax, N.S.

TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY FATHER,

WHOSE LIFE,

WATCHED BY THE EYE OF CHILDHOOD,

AND WEIGHED BY THE JUDGMENT OF MANHOOD,

GAVE ME A STRONG CONVICTION

OF THE REALITY AND POWER OF

THE RELIGION OF CHRIST,

AND WHOSE

UNSWERVING ATTACHMENT TO METHODISM,

AND FREQUENT REFERENCES

TO HER EARLIER MINISTERS AND LAYMEN,

DEVELOPED THE DISPOSITION WHICH HAS LED

TO THE PRODUCTION OF

THIS VOLUME,

IT IS DEDICATED

IN THE SPIRIT OF SINCERE FILIAL AFFECTION

BY

HIS ELDEST SON.

PREFACE.

Twelve years, spent in earnest circuit work, have elapsed since we commenced to collect the information which is now in the reader's hands, in the shape of a volume. For many years we had no definite purpose in view; but in the course of time the accumulation of materials suggested the preparation of a history; while the necessity, two years since, of assuming a supernumerary relation, in which we were more free to use the pen than the voice, presented an opportunity, if not a call, to tell what God had done in the days of our fathers.

No apology is needed for entering upon a track hitherto untrodden. That such a work was not given to the Methodists of the Lower Provinces years ago, when many whose memories or desks might have supplied valuable materials, were still with us, seems strange. To-day, we can only gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing more may be lost. The present volume is presented to the members of our Church and congregations, in the hope that a relation of God's presence with us in the past, as seen in providential interpositions, wonderful conversions, consecrated lives, triumphant departures, and far-reaching results—and in the history of no branch of the Church of modern times are these more marked—may strengthen our faith and

stimulate our energy; and may, at the same time, awaken in the hearts of our youth such an attachment to the Church of their fathers, as will bind them more closely to it. Such a regard, while it will enable them to enter more heartily into all its godly schemes, need not, we are persuaded, even where it may be of the most pronounced character, interfere in the least with a real and intelligent love for all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

Concerning the difficulties encountered in the prosecution of our work it is not worth while to say much. A statement, in detail, of these, might be regarded as an appeal for sympathy; which few, save those engaged in a similar work, have the power to bestow. Historical students know that no literary labor can be more perplexing. We may, however, be permitted to remark that apart from the usual embarrassments, which sometimes tempt a writer to throw down his pen in despair, we have met with some discouragements, peculiar, perhaps to the field respecting which we write. The removal of nearly all the early preachers and their families to other, and, often, distant fields; the absence, until a comparatively recent period, of any local magazine, or paper for the preservation of current religious events, or memorials of departed worth; the loss of many valuable papers and records by fire; and, worst of all, the wanton destruction of many documents which would have furnished information, not to be found elsewhere, have rendered our task one of peculiar difficulty. We indulge the hope

that the publication of this work may call forth any unused material, yet in existence, but buried from the public gaze. Should this volume, contrary to the expressed fears of some, meet with a satisfactory demand, it will be followed by a second, as soon as it can be prepared, without interference with other duties, and with a due regard to the completeness and correctness of the work.

In the compilation of this volume it has been found impossible, in all cases, to call attention to the writers to whom we have been indebted. In addition to the English and Colonial magazines, Minutes and newspapers, the following works have afforded valuable assistance :

Richey's 'Memoir of Rev. William Black.'
Marsden's 'Narrative of a Mission.'
'The Life and Travels of the Rev. William Earley.'
Stevens' 'History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.'
Bangs' 'Life of Rev. Freeborn Garrettson.'
Wakeley's 'Lost Chapters.'
'Christian Correspondence, being a collection of letters written by the late Rev. John Wesley, the late Mrs. Eliza Bennis, and others.'
Tyerman's 'Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley.'
Wilson's 'Newfoundland and its Missionaries.'

To those who have rendered us assistance by literary contributions; or by the gift, or loan, or permitted perusal, of rare pamphlets, or original papers, we here tender our thanks. Among those whose kindness merits special mention are the late Rev. Canon Hensley, D.D. of King's College, Windsor, N. S.; the Rev. J. B. McCulloch, of Philadelphia; the Rev. J. Newton Perkins, and Samuel

J. W. Barry, Esq., of New York; Thomas B. Fidler, Esq. of Lambertville, N. J.; Mrs. T. A. Anderson, Mrs. S. N. Binney, Mrs. N. H. Calkins, and also Thomas B. Akins, and John T. Mellish, Esqrs., of Halifax, N. S.

To our genial neigbour, the Rev. John McMurray, we also tender our hearty thanks for many valuable suggestions, and much important assistance rendered us while engaged in the publication of this volume.

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HISTORY OF METHODISM

IN EASTERN BRITISH AMERICA.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF METHODISM.

Religious State of England in the early part of the Eighteenth Century. The Epworth Rectory. Conversion of John Wesley. The title of "Methodist." George Whitfield. Wesley's Irregularities. Final separation of Wesley from the Moravians. Origin of the Methodist Societies. Lay helpers. Doctrines of Methodism. Freedom to the Laity. Success of Methodism. Wesley's genius for government. Modern Methodism a continuation of Wesley's work. Separation of Methodism from the Established Church, final. Methodism the out growth of a Revival.

Many persons, even in Protestant countries, speak of Methodism with a dim conception of its origin and character. To comprehend these clearly, the religious state of England, during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, should be carefully studied. To the Christian student the review will be productive of little pleasure. It will not, however, be without profit.

At that period, thick darkness had over-spread England. Here and there, from humble souls, anxious inquiries respecting the 'night' were heard; but the responses to these, from the 'watchmen', were few and feeble, such as come from men whose numbers are small, and whose hearts are weary.

Isaac Taylor, who will not be charged with undue prepossession in favor of Methodism, only echoes the

sad conclusion at which the faithful few of both the great religious parties in England had arrived, when he states that, at the time of which we write, the Anglican Church was 'an ecclesiastical system under which the people of England had lapsed into heathenism, or a state hardly to be distinguished from it;' while the 'languishing' Non-conformity of the day, 'was rapidly in course to be found nowhere but in books.'[1]

Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, in the preface to the third edition of his 'Pastoral Care,' published in 1713, gives a sad description of the clergy of his own diocese. 'Our Ember weeks,' he wrote, 'are the burden and grief of my life. The much greater part of those who come to be ordained are ignorant, to a degree not to be apprehended by those who are not obliged to know it. Those who have read some few books, yet seem not to have read the Scriptures. Many cannot give a tolerable account even of the catechism itself, how short and plain soever. They cry, and think it a sad disgrace to be denied orders, though the ignorance of some is such that, in a well regulated state of things, they would appear not knowing enough to be admitted to the holy sacrament.' 'The case is not much better,' he adds, 'in many who, having got into orders, come for institution, and cannot make it appear that they have read the Scriptures, or any one good book since they were ordained; so that the small measure of knowledge upon which they got into holy orders not being improved, is in a way quite lost; and they think it a great hardship if they are told they must know the Scriptures and the body of divinity better, before they can be trusted with the care of souls.'

Southey, who will not be suspected of detracting from

[1] Taylor's 'Wesley and Methodism,' pp. 56, 59.

the honor of that church, which he so frequently defended, says in his 'Life of Wesley;' 'Owing to the indifference or incapacity of one part of the clergy, and the temper of another, there was at the same time an increase of fanaticism, and a decay of general piety. The clergy had lost that authority which may always command at least the appearance of respect; and they had lost that respect also by which the place of authority may sometimes so much more worthily be supplied. In the great majority of the clergy zeal was wanting. The excellent Leighton spoke of the Church 'as a fair carcase without a spirit; in doctrine, in worship, and in the main part of its government, he thought it the best constituted in the world, but one of the most corrupt in its administration.' 'The great majority of the populace,' Southey states, 'knew nothing more of religion than its forms. They had been Papists formerly, and now they were Protestants, but they had never been Christians. The Reformation had taken away the ceremonies to which they were attached, and substituted nothing in their stead. There was the Bible indeed, but to the great body of the labouring people the Bible was, even in the letter, a sealed book. Among the educated classes, too little care was taken to imbue them early with this better faith; and too little exertion used for awakening them from the pursuits and vanities of this world, to a salutary and hopeful contemplation of that which is to come. And there was the heavier evil that the greater part of the nation were totally uneducated; Christians no farther than the mere ceremony of baptism could make them, being for the most part in a state of heathen, or worse than heathen, ignorance.'

The long continued observance of forms by partially educated men, who fail to trace any connection between

the forms and some clearly defined religious principle, tends to infidelity. The traveller on the continent of Europe is impressed with this fact. Through the ignorance of divine truth on the part of the people of England, and the incapacity of the clergy to lead them from darkness to light, infidelity was, at the period under review, making rapid strides in England. Bishop Butler, in his 'advertisement' to the 'Analogy,' published in 1736, speaks of the infidelity of the period. 'It is come,' he writes, 'I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now, at length, discovered to be fictitious. And, accordingly, they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.' The sad statement of the learned author of the 'Analogy' finds melancholy confirmation from Montesquieu, of France, who, in his account of a visit to England, in 1729, remarks, 'There is no religion in England. If one speaks of religion, everybody laughs.' Elsewhere he adds, 'I pass in France as having too little religion; in England as having too much.'

Meanwhile, under the salutary home influences of a secluded village rectory in Lincolnshire, and the thorough intellectual training of Oxford, a young man, quite unconscious of his destiny, was being prepared by Providence to take the leadership of a new religious movement. To his father, a man of decided convictions, and great strength of purpose, the young man owed much; to his mother, gifted with rare common sense, and sound Christian judgment, and favoured with an excellent

literary and religious education, he owed still more. Turning from the marble slab which marks her resting place among the noted dead of Bunhill-fields, or from the more pretentious monument lately erected to her memory in front of City Road Chapel, to the tomb of her son at the rear of that Cathedral church of London Methodism, the thoughtful visitor will ask himself whether to Susanna, the mother of the Wesleys, or to her son John, belongs in reality the title of 'Founder of Methodism,' usually bestowed upon the latter. It, at least, is certain that none will be inclined to call in question the statement of a recent writer, that the practical Methodism of the rectory, more than any other human cause, produced the ecclesiastical Methodism which to-day is spreading the Wesleyan name throughout the world. [2]

How John Wesley won honorable literary distinction at Oxford; how he became connected with the 'Holy Club' at the University, and was accepted by his brother Charles and the other members of it as their leader, sharing with them their labours and their reproach; how from the reading of 'The Imitation of Christ,' and the works of William Law, he was in danger of mystical tendencies, from which he was rescued by the good judgment of his mother; how he went to Georgia as a missionary, entering upon his duties as a High-Churchman of the 'straitest sect;' and how he returned after his intercourse with the godly Moravians on shipboard, and on shore, admitting the mistaken character of his zeal, and writing in his journal as he approached the Lands-End, 'I went to America to convert the Indians, but O, who shall convert me?' have been many times told by historians of Methodism.

Wesley reached his native land after an absence of

[2] Stevens' 'History of Methodism,' Vol 1, p. 57.

more than two years, a less happy man than at his departure for America. He had gone forth in the spirit of duty, an earnest minister of the Episcopal Church, connecting religion with the idea of a national establishment, a divinely transmitted authority, and a legally prescribed liturgy. During his absence 'in the ends of the earth,' an important change had taken place in his views. The Moravians had been his earthly teachers. With a party of them he had crossed the ocean, and had witnessed, during storms which threatened destruction, the presence of a piety superior to his own. The public and private teaching of the Moravian pastor, and the cheerful, confident, practical religious life of the Moravian people, in marked contrast with his own religion of doubt and asceticism, supplied him, after his arrival in Georgia, with a test, in the presence of which, himself being the judge, he could not stand. He carried his case to the Word of God. Under the teaching of that word, 'quick and powerful,' the old foundations of his hope vanished. He became convinced, as he himself writes, that 'his own works, his own sufferings, his own righteousness, were so far from reconciling him to an offended God, so far from making atonement for those sins, which 'were more in number than the hairs of his head,' that the most specious of them needed an atonement themselves.' [3] The happiness which he saw 'afar off' to be the evident privilege of the child of God, only increased his present unrest. He sought in vain in his own heart for evidences of faith in Christ and love to God; he feared death, and shrank from the life beyond; he felt himself to be an unforgiven sinner. The first few weeks which followed his return to his native land, were, therefore, weeks of darkness and anxiety.

[3] 'Journal,' Feb. 1738.

In the economy of grace, as in nature, it is often found that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. Happily, while Wesley longed for the light, he met with a Moravian teacher, who urged him to wait for it, not in the reading of theologians, but in the study of the Holy Scriptures. Upon this counsel he acted. The result was such as never fails to reward him who searches in the treasury of the Divine Word for what he cannot find in himself, a ground of justification before God. A day came at length on which he could joyfully say, 'I have found it.' This was the 24th of May, 1738. On the evening of that day he attended a meeting at Aldersgate street, London, where a layman read, 'Luther's Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans.' Respecting the event, he writes: 'I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt that I did trust in Christ, Christ only, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. I then testified openly to all there, what I now felt first in my heart.'[4] That evening a 'troop of friends' took him from the meeting to his brother Charles, who three days previously had been made a partaker of 'like precious faith.' After singing a hymn with joy, they parted with prayer.

The epithet of 'Methodist' had been applied to Charles Wesley and the other members of the 'Holy Club' at Oxford, some years before, during the temporary absence of John Wesley at his father's rectory at Epworth; but the real commencement of Methodism may be dated from the hour when John Wesley, freed from the 'spirit of bondage unto fear,' received the assurance of forgiveness, and entered into the liberty of the children of God. To testify openly, in a wider sphere, of the power and

[4] 'Journal,' May, 1738.

willingness of Christ to do for every man, what Christ had done for him, was henceforth to be Wesley's employment during a long and busy life. Before entering upon it, he spent four months in Holland and Germany, at the head-quarters of the Moravians, who had shewn him the way of salvation through faith. At Hernhut, which seemed to him the 'city of God,' he was thoroughly at home. 'I would gladly,' he says, 'have spent my life here, but my Master calling me to labor in other parts of his vineyard, I was constrained to leave this happy place.' From Germany he returned, confirmed in his new religious experience, and in some important doctrinal views. At a later period, we trace the influence of this visit in many details of Methodist discipline.

A short time before Wesley's arrival from America, George Whitfield, another member of the little band at Oxford, having found peace through believing, had preached in the churches of Bristol and London with marked effect. He had then sailed for America. Charles Wesley, during the absence of his brother in Germany, had followed in Whitfield's track, till the earnestness with which he set forth salvation through faith alone, alarmed some, and led to the closing of church after church against him. He then spent his time in exhorting the 'Societies' which had been formed many years before, by two pious clergymen, and had been revived by the Moravians, and in visiting and preaching to the prisoners at Newgate. John Wesley arrived in London from Germany on Saturday night, and on Sunday morning fell into line with his brother. On the Sunday he preached three times, and afterwards expounded to a large company; during the week he was in labors abundant, expounding nearly every day in the Societies. The labors of that week were not mere fitful efforts. They were to

be steadily equalled, and often exceeded, through many succeeding years, and to be carried into that period of advanced life, when men of still vigorous minds have usually to yield to the pressure of physical infirmities, and put off the harness. On the Sabbaths Wesley continued to preach in the churches, till they were, in succession, nearly all closed against him. From the city pulpits he turned to the Societies, the prisons, and the country near London, where he rejoiced in successful labor.

In December 1738, Whitfield returned from America. The Wesleys and he met in London. 'The meeting,' says John Wesley, 'was a true Pentecost.' Whitfield arrived at an opportune moment; he was about to lead the brothers into fresh 'irregularities' in the face of threats of excommunication against Charles by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Shut out of the churches of London, and also of Bristol, where previous to his departure for America, he had been received with enthusiasm, and, from the prison of the latter city, by order of the Mayor, and challenged to preach among the scarce civilized miners of Kingswood, he preached to a number on February 13, 1739, in the open air. The results which followed his ministry at Kingswood remind us of passages in the Acts of the Apostles. He sent for Wesley, who hesitated to follow him into the field, but only for a brief space. Ecclesiastical cords grew weaker in the presence of work towards which the finger of God pointed. In April, 1738, under strong spiritual influences, he had said in his notes of a visit to one of the London societies: 'My heart was so full that I could not confine myself to the forms of prayer which we were accustomed to use. Neither do I propose to be confined to them any more, but to pray indifferently, with a form or without, as I

may find suitable to particular occasions.' On the 2nd of April, 1739, in the absence of Whitfield, who had gone to sound the trumpet elsewhere, Wesley deliberately committed himself to a course, whence retreat was scarcely possible. 'At four in the afternoon,' he writes, in words which indicate a previous struggle, 'I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining the city, to about three thousand people.' The mighty moral change which was soon witnessed in the neighborhood, convinced the evangelists that no step backward must be taken. Wesley's talent for organization was soon called into activity. Each step rendered another necessary. Shut out from the churches, an asylum for the new congregation was required,and on Saturday, May 12, 1739, the first stone of the first Methodist church, was laid at Bristol, with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

Hitherto, Wesley had been in full accord with the Moravians in London. He had purchased the 'Foundry' for purposes of worship, and had formed there what may be regarded as his first society. Respecting this society he writes: 'In the latter part of the year 1739, eight or ten persons came to me in London, and desired that I would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come; this was the rise of the United Society. Twelve came the first night, forty the next, and soon after a hundred.' Nothing however had occurred to disturb the fraternal relations between the Moravians and himself. This harmony was not long to continue. Several persons arrived from abroad, who taught in the societies doctrines which soon caused serious strife. Faith, these teachers taught, rendered the duties of the moral, as well as those of the

Jewish law, unnecessary, and even released the Christian from the obligations of prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. Wesley, then at Bristol, was sent for. He hurried to London, and for some time sought to reconcile those who were 'biting and devouring one another,' but finding the breach irreparable, he publicly withdrew from them. A number followed the Wesleys to the Foundry, the services at which were henceforth to be wholly independent of those held by the Moravians. This separation of incipient Methodism from Moravianism, which cost Wesley a severe struggle, took place during the summer of 1740.

Another event soon after recalled Wesley from Bristol to London. To render himself and his brother more free to extend their labors into new fields, John Cennick had been placed in charge of the society in Bristol, and Thomas Maxfield over that in London. These laymen were expected to maintain order in the societies, and to exhort, but were not expected to preach. Pressed by the spiritual need of the people, and impelled by a zeal which he believed to be inspired, Maxfield went into the desk at the Foundry, and preached with great success,. Wesley, informed of the fact, hastened to London to put a padlock on Maxfield's lips. His judicious mother, now on the verge of the grave, gave him wise counsel. 'Take care,' she said, 'what you do respecting that young man; he is as surely called to preach as you are.' She also advised him to hear Maxfield, and to examine the results of his preaching. Wesley heard him and could only say 'It is the Lord.' The lesson was timely. Other fields were white unto the harvest, and the reapers were few. A very small number of the ministers of the Established Church had shewn themselves to be in sympathy with the new movement, and these had abundance of work to

do in their own parishes. Maxfield was soon followed by Thomas Richards, and the heroic John Nelson, and a constantly increasing band of lay preachers. Many of these were noble men, who shared with the Wesleys their difficulties and dangers, and preached that Gospel through which they themselves had obtained peace, in the presence of mobs whose most violent excesses were at times rewarded by the bland smile, or the favourable comment of the squire and the clergyman of the parish; through prison bars, and even in the face of death itself. Upon some of them, Wesley, rightly judging himself to be a true Scriptural bishop, conferred ordination in later years; and to a body of one hundred, selected, with a few exceptions, from their number, he, as the time to die drew near, transferred, by legal process, the responsibilities which he had borne during his lifetime.

The presence of these lay helpers left Wesley at liberty to act in accordance with his oft-quoted motto, 'The world is my parish.' He soon enlarged his sphere of labor. For many years, 'a man of one book,' he travelled through the kingdom, proclaiming to all, even the worst, the possibility of a 'present salvation, wrought in the soul by the power of God, and witnessed to the soul by the direct testimony of the Holy Ghost; a salvation from a yawning hell into which the sinner's next step might plunge him, into a heaven of love and holiness, the free gift of God to all who believe in Jesus, and who continue in possession of faith which worketh by love.'

The prominent doctrines of Methodism demand more than an incidental reference. They were not new to the world. 'The theological distinction of Methodism,' it has been observed, 'lay not in novel tenets, but in the clearness and power with which it illustrated and applied

the established doctrines of the English Reformation; and in harmony with its own characteristic design, it nearly confined its teachings to such of these doctrines as relate to personal or spiritual religion; repentance, faith, justification, regeneration, sanctification, and the witness of the Spirit.' The 'polemical themes which had disturbed the harmony, and wasted the energy of Christendom, were placed in subordination.' [5]

When Wesley went forth, the doctrine of 'Justification by faith,' by which, according to Luther, the Church of Christ must stand or fall, was found in the articles of the Established Church, but was not preached from her pulpits. Ten or fifteen years later, Judge Blackstone declares, after having followed the most celebrated preachers of the Establishment in London, 'that he had not heard a sermon in which there was any more Christianity than in a discourse of Cicero, and that it would have been hard to tell whether the orator were a Mahometan or a Christian.' [6] It may with safety be said that no such ambiguity marked the preaching of the early Methodist evangelists. Taught in the school of experience, their staple theme was 'repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.' They proclaimed the kingdom of heaven at hand; set forth the exceeding sinfulness of sin; urged men everywhere to repent; taught the utter inability of men to save themselves by the deeds of the law; and pointed them to the death of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as an atonement or redemption-price which God as a Judge and a Father accepts in behalf of the sinner, who turning from sin to God, by faith appropriates the merits of that atonement to himself and pleads it as the sole ground of forgiveness. They were

[5] Stevens' 'History of Methodism,' vol. 2: p. 408.

[6] 'John Wesley and Methodism,' by M. Chas. DeRemusat.

careful to point out the difference between an 'historical' faith and the faith which brings salvation. The former they set forth as possessed, in common with men, by devils who believe and tremble; the latter they defined to be a 'Divine evidence and conviction, not only that 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself;' but also that Christ loved me, and gave Himself for me.'" This faith they represented to be the gift of God, 'to all who see, and feel, and own their wants, and their utter inability to remove them.' With justification, they connected regeneration as an accompaniment. The former they looked upon as a relative change, wrought for us, rather than in us, by which our relation to the Divine law is changed, and we, once guilty, are recognised as just. The latter they regarded as a personal change wrought by the Holy Spirit in the believing soul, by which it passes from the 'death of sin' into the 'life of righteousness,' and assured of acceptance, enters into communion with God.

The doctrine of Sanctification, as a farther result of faith, was also earnestly enforced. The term 'Christian Perfection,' adopted by Wesley, though scriptural, and possessing, as viewed from a certain standpoint, a peculiar propriety, has been the cause of much misapprehension and useless debate. Upon the supposition that he taught absolute perfection, he and his followers have been frequently attacked with no small degree of bitterness. 'Mr. Wesley,' said a previously prejudiced prelate of the English Church, to whom Wesley had been explaining his views, 'if this is what you mean by perfection, who can be against it?' Many who have wasted hours in useless attack, would, had they sought an explanation, have said the same. 'Perfect Christians are not,' says Wesley, 'free from ignorance, no, nor

from mistake. We are no more to expect any man to be infallible than to be omniscient. From infirmities none are perfectly freed till their spirits return to God; neither can we expect them to be wholly freed from temptation; for 'the servant is not above his Master.' Man, in his present state, can no more attain Adamic, than angelic perfection. The perfection of which man is capable, while he dwells in a corruptible body, is the complying with the kind command, 'My son give me thine heart.' It is the loving the Lord his God, with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind.' The attainment of that experience in which 'perfect love' casts out fear, and makes a regard for the will of God the sole rule of inward thought, and outward action, Wesley believed to be the privilege of all believers. While he looked upon it as 'instantaneous,' he also believed in the constant growth in grace of the believer, since the enlarged and purified heart must ever stretch forward toward all 'the fullness of God.' 'There is no perfection of degrees,' he wrote, 'none which does not admit of continual increase.' This doctrine was one of the most prominent in the preaching of early Methodism; and by the faithful or unfaithful announcement of it, by his itinerants, Wesley professed to account very frequently for the growth or decline of his societies.

The doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit to the Divine acceptance of the believing soul, had been early apprehended by Wesley, as a scriptural theory. When reading Bishop Taylor's 'Holy Living,' at Oxford, the devout student dared to differ from the author he so much admired. Even then he wrote, prompted to do so by the Bishop's denial that a Christian could know his acceptance with God; 'If we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, which He will not do unless we are regenerate, certainly we

must be sensible of it.' Yet, when a short time after, the brothers John and Charles stood at the bedside of their dying father at Epworth, and heard the aged saint say, ere he passed away in sure and certain hope, 'The inward witness, son, the inward witness; this is the proof, the strongest proof of Christianity,' they only partially understood his meaning. A few years later, when the sons were able to rejoice in the personal possesion of the inward witness, they recalled, with intelligent thanksgiving, the utterances of a father passed into the skies. Wesley's definition of this doctrine is clear and concise. 'By the witness of the Spirit, I mean an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me and given Himself for me; that all my sins are blotted out, and that I, even I, am reconciled to God.' Respecting the mode of conviction, he says. 'Let it be observed, I do not mean hereby that the Spirit of God testifies this by any outward voice; no, nor always by an inward voice, although He may do this sometimes. Neither do I suppose that He always applies to the heart, though He often may, one or more texts of Scripture. But He so works upon the soul, by His immediate influence, and by a strong, but inexplicable operation, that the stormy wind and troubled waves subside, and there is a sweet calm; the heart resting as in the arms of Jesus, and the sinner being clearly satisfied that all his iniquities are forgiven, and his sins covered.' This assurance was carefully limited to a present salvation, and the certainty of its loss by the commission of any wilful sin, or the omission of any known duty, clearly stated. In one respect Wesley's view of this doctrine differed from that of some who preceded him. They looked upon

the assurance of forgiveness as the privilege of a favored few; he believed it to be the privilege of every believer. This test of a truly spiritual character, every Methodist was earnestly enjoined to possess.

Before Wesley's departure for America, his Arminian proclivities had become quite decided. 'I am not satisfied,' he wrote, 'what evidence there can be of our final perseverance, till we have finished our course.' With the same pen, he summed up the argument against 'predestination,' in words which need no interpretation: 'That God should be the author of sin and injustice, which must, I think, be the consequence of maintaining this opinion, is a contradiction to the clearest ideas we have of the Divine nature and perfections.' His mother, while prudently advising abstinence from these studies, as tending rather to confound, than inform the understanding, confirmed him in his views, and expressed her deep dislike of the Calvinistic theology. After his return to England, when the light of the Spirit shone more brightly into his heart, he saw no reason to change his opinions on these points. On the contrary, he undertook when publicly attacked for his Arminianism by John Cennick, in 1740, to defend these opinions by tongue and pen; and then published his celebrated sermon on 'Free Grace.' With what tenacity he adhered to Arminianism to the close of his life, is well known to those who have read the works of Fletcher, the Vicar of Madely, to whose rare controversial skill and able pen, he, some years later, committed the defence of his views, as well as to the readers of the volumes of the Arminian Magazine, published during his own lifetime. Yet, tenacious as Wesley was of his own opinions, he did not make the possession of views similar to his own, a condition of membership in his societies. The simple test for all who sought admis-

sion to these, was 'a sincere desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins.'

An important ecclesiastical feature in Methodism, has been its better organization of the lay element, and its utilization of spiritual forces. It has been said that the Reformation left the Church a great way below the position in which Paul had left it; that though it obtained liberty for the ministry, it left the laymen in bondage. 'But,' remarks an eloquent preacher, 'when Methodism arose, the Pauline churches were reproduced in history. Every man's mouth was opened; the membership found their voice; and praise, and prayer, and exhortation, sounded once more in the assembly of the saints. If a man could pray, or exhort, he was allowed to do it. It found a place for every man, and a man for every place. The Pauline liberty was practiced, and the Phœbes and the Dorcases were permitted to have an ecclesiastical existence, and mention? It re-affirmed the right of woman to a religious character, and to all those exercises of mind and soul which made such a character possible. It gave her full permission to serve her Master as He by nature and grace had qualified her.'[7] The restoration to the laity of the freedom so long withheld, and the recognition of the importance of the position they occupy in the great sphere of Christian work, has already received the sanction of even the more conservative branches of the Church. No mode of sanction is more satisfactory than that of imitation.

With what success Wesley and his co-laborers were rewarded, the world needs not to be informed to-day. The civil power afforded them little aid; on the contrary, the magistrates not unfrequently left them and their followers to the tender mercies of the brutal mob, led on

[7] Rev. W. H. H. Murray.

at times, by the clergyman of the parish. Their disciples have never wielded the sword of persecution: of the many thousands who have lived and died in the simple faith they preached, not one has yielded to any sterner influence than the power of Divine love. No social influence lent its attraction; no hope of worldly advantage acted as a decoy. No beauty of ceremonial, nor splendour of services attracted men to the humble sanctuaries, or out-door gatherings of the early Methodists. But such was the power which accompanied the simple declaration of the fact that Christ 'by the grace of God tasted death for every man,' that Wesley, as he lay upon his death-bed in 1791, could have looked, as from a mount of vision, upon more than one hundred and twenty thousand souls, gathered from the world into his societies in Britain, America, and the West Indies; and upon more than half a million who each Sabbath listened to the Gospel as declared by those whom he had sent forth into the ministry. How many, saved through the instrumentality of himself and his fellow laborers, had preceded him 'within the veil,' cannot be known on earth.

We have not spoken of the indirect influence of Methodism, as seen in the increased spirituality of the National and Non-conformist Churches in England, in the succeeding generation; in the marked results, which to-day are following the enfranchisement of the laity from the long bondage of silence; or in the impulse given to the spirit of praise by the hymns of Charles Wesley, some of which, no longer peculiar to Methodist churches, are sung wherever Christ is worshipped. It is not our purpose to speak of these. Wesley's latest biographer, in reference to the direct results of his work, as seen from the standpoint of the present day, remarks; 'Here we have an immensely ramified Church organi-

zation, everywhere preaching the same momentous doctrines, and aiming at the same great purpose. A day never passes without a number of its converts being admitted into heaven; and without many a poor wayward wanderer being brought by it into the fold of Christ on earth. Thousands of its temples are daily open, and prayer by its churches, in one quarter of the globe, or in another, is made continually. It has belted the entire planet with its myriad agents.' [8] Its doctrinal standards have been translated into all the languages of Europe, and are familiar to worshippers of Bramah, and Budha. It is estimated that not less than twelve millions are taught, each week, the lessons of Gospel truth as interpreted by these standards.

This grand ecclesiastical system is Wesley's monument. He consecrated his combined powers of intellect and heart to the great purpose of leading men to Christ. His noble spirit knew no selfishness; he gave away amounts derived from the sale of his publications which would have enabled him to live like an English nobleman. His genius for government was such, that he has been called the first among theological statesmen. Macaulay says that in this respect he was not inferior to Richelieu. This capacity to govern, he used, with vast expenditure of time and labour, in the organization into societies of those converts whom God gave him, and in plans for the preservation of these societies after his departure. These ecclesiastical arrangements were not always pleasing to some who had taken an active part in the movement of which he had become the acknowledged leader. They not unfrequently brought him into conflict with the more rigid churchmanship of his brother Charles, who on several occasions uttered vigorous protests. In

[8] Tyerman's 'Life of Wesley,' Vol. 1, p. 12.

ability for organization Wesley was far superior to Whitfield. The latter, who, in consequence of his disagreement with Wesley upon Calvinistic theories, had moved in a distinct line from the time of his return from America in 1741, confessed near the close of his career, that great numbers of those converted under his ministry had been scattered, and that those who remained were bound but by 'a rope of sand.' 'Friend Wesley,' he said, 'did better.'

Methodism to-day holds an honorable position as a branch of the Church of Christ. Her status as a Church, however, depends not upon the dictum of John Wesley, or of any other man, but upon the will of God. 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.' Wesley was but the instrument. Led on step by step by providence, he prepared the way. To the final result of the great movement at the head of which the Master placed him, the 'vehement prejudices' of his education, of which he himself speaks, were opposed. When his attachment to the Church in which he had been trained, and which, it is evident, he regarded in no small degree as a political institution, came in conflict with no clearly defined duty, these 'vehement prejudices' found utterance. His remarks on such occasions have been frequently quoted against his own followers, by men who would have shown him little sympathy in his evangelical efforts. The best reply to such opponents, is the quotation of those strong utterances in the contrary direction, which were prompted by conviction; with the relation of those facts which prove that 'whenever any usage or customary right, or new law, of the Church of England seemed to come into conflict with what he regarded as the spread of evangelical truth and life, he was prepared to make an entire and unhesitating sacrifice of

it.'[9] The principle which governed his actions, was clearly stated by him in a letter to his brother, in 1786; 'Church or no Church, we must attend to the work of saving souls.' That there was a certain degree of inconsistency between some of Wesley's words and his acts, cannot be denied. But a similar inconsistency has been frequently seen in the case of men of strong purpose, who, like Wesley, have been hampered throughout life by the almost ineradicable influence of an early training, from some of the teachings of which, through the convictions of later years, they have been forced to depart. Wesley has been aptly compared to a boatman, who keeps his face towards the shore he is leaving, while with each stroke of the oar he increases the distance between the point of departure and himself. 'Looking at the whole evidence,' writes Dr. Rigg, 'it appears to be undeniable, that so far as respects the separate development of Methodism, Wesley not only pointed, but paved the way to all that has since been done; and that the utmost divergence of Methodism from the Church of England at this day is but the prolongation of a line the beginning of which was traced by Wesley's own hand. It is idle to attempt to purge Wesley of the sin of schism, in order to cast the guilt upon his followers.'

There are men who, in a sense not creditable to themselves, 'laugh at impossibilities.' To this class belong those who so far fail to recognize accomplished facts, or accept the permanence of irrevocable changes, as to speak of the possibility of the absorption of Methodism into the English Church, and into other branches of the Episcopal Church affiliated to her. Such day-dreams may afford innocent pleasure to those who cherish them; they can never be fulfilled. The adherents of these

[9] Dr. Rigg, in 'Contemporary Review,' 1876.

Churches are already outnumbered by those of the English Wesleyan Methodist Church, and the family of Churches in both hemispheres of which she is the honored parent, not to mention the seceding Methodist Churches in Britain and elsewhere. As well might these visionaries expect the 'fluvial waters that have descended the Gulf of Niagara, and passed away to the Atlantic ocean, to gather themselves up and roll back into Lake Erie.'

A more important subject demands serious thought. Methodism was the outgrowth of a revival of 'pure and undefiled' religion. Luther remarks that a revival seldom lasts more than thirty years. The great revival of the 18th century, however, was growing in breadth and depth when Wesley died, more than fifty years after its commencement. During that period her itinerant ministry was called into the field; her doctrinal standards were drawn up; the foundations of her polity were laid; the style of her sanctuary services was fixed; and her 'songs of the soul,' suggested by scenes and circumstances peculiar to seasons of deep religious interest, were written. It is evident, therefore, that an atmosphere of revival is the natural element of Methodism. In one of dry, cold orthodoxy she must droop and languish. Her glory will depart, when in the view of her ministry and her membership, her continuance as a revivalist agency in the hands of the Head of the Church, shall cease to be her highest honor.

The glory has not yet departed. If her work is prosecuted with less frequent remark and less frequent attack than in the past, it is not, there is good reason to believe, because of retreat on the part of Methodism, but because of advance on the part of other branches of the Church of Christ. The dying words of Wesley, 'The

best of all is God is with us,' borne to almost every part of the habitable earth on the seal of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, may still be quoted by her sons with the utmost confidence. No farther warrant is needed for the belief that in triumphs won for Christ, the history of Methodism shall again and again repeat itself.

CHAPTER II.

METHODISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND FROM THE ARRIVAL OF LAURENCE COUGHLAN IN 1765, TO HIS DEPARTURE IN 1773.

Colonization of Newfoundland. Laurence Coughlan. Cause of his separation from Wesley. His departure for Newfoundland. Moral and religious state of the Colony at the time of his arrival. His appointment as a Missionary. Revival at Harbor Grace and Carbonear. Pleasing results at Blackhead. Adoption of Methodist discipline by Coughlan. Persecution. Coughlan's return to England. His death. Methodism in Jersey the indirect result of Coughlan's labors in Newfoundland. Conversion of Pierre Le Sueur. Extension of Methodism from the Norman Isles to France.

The preaching of the Gospel, in the simple and earnest style of the Methodist itinerants of Britain, was introduced into the Colony of Newfoundland several years earlier than into the Lower Provinces. In few places was the Gospel needed more than in that oldest transatlantic possession of Britain. Its early history is without a parallel; and the manner of its settlement was calculated to repress the growth of all moral and religious influences. The very wealth of the seas which washed the shores of the Island, proved its weakness. In a 'Charter' issued by the English Government in 1674, it was ordered that no inhabitant should be allowed to reside within six miles of the coast from Cape Race to Bonavista. An officer was sent out with orders to remove all persons settled upon the forbidden grounds, and to destroy their buildings. Partial obedience to these cruel orders produced much misery. Two years later an order was obtained by which farther interference with the inhabitants was prevented; but, at the same time, the owners of all ves-

sels were strictly forbidden to take out 'emigrants, or any person to settle in Newfoundland.' For a long time the island continued to be regarded as 'a great English ship, moored near the banks during the fishing season for the convenience of the English fishermen.' At a later date, when England was encouraging the settlement of colonies on the main land, the traditionary idea respecting Newfoundland continued to have no little weight in her councils. In spite, however, of all the attempts to keep Newfoundland a 'Royal wilderness,'—at an early day by legal enactment, and at a later day by the destruction of the property of the 'planters' by the 'adventurers,'—the number of the settlers around the bays and harbors of the island had continued to increase. Of a large proportion of the inhabitants it may with truth be said, that poverty had led them there, and had then kept them there. There was nothing in the government of the island to attract those men of moderate means and independent minds, whose fellows had laid the foundations of the colonies on the continent. Men, of the class who at the present day are developing the resources, and establishing abroad the credit of Newfoundland, would have been unwilling to make permanent homes on her shores during the last century. The safety of the settler of that day lay in being 'little and unknown;' to seek a position above that of mediocrity exposed him to danger. The addition to these disadvantages, of frequent alarms and actual losses through the persistent efforts of the French to obtain a colony upon which they had long kept an envious eye, rendered the position of the settler in Newfoundland an undesirable one. In the view of those who mark the influence of the Gospel upon nations and communities, a more serious drawback than those we have named will be seen in the absence of an earnest, evan-

gelical ministry. It was not to the advantage of the English merchants—who were growing wealthy through the toil of the fishermen whose huts stood near their large establishments, and who were transporting their wealth to Britain as fast as it was accumulated—to pay any attention to the intellectual and spiritual interests of the increasing numbers, for whom, in a certain sense, they were accountable. Had it not been for the presence of one or two missionaries, sent out, and in part supported by the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' the darkness in Newfoundland would have been total.

The honor of being the first to call the special attention of the settlers scattered along the rugged coast of Newfoundland, to those truths which had been preached with apostolic energy and success in Britain, belongs to Laurence Coughlan. The reply of Wesley to some friends who found fault with him for the time spent by him in Ireland, was, 'Have patience with Ireland, and she will repay you.' That the truth of this prediction has been fully verified, a glance at the honored names which Ireland has given to British Methodism and to many of her Mission stations, will at once attest. Like Strawbridge and Embury, who had the honor of founding Methodism on the American continent, Coughlan was an Irishman, one of the first fruits of Methodism in that country. He was received on trial as a Methodist preacher, by Wesley, in 1755. At an early period of his ministry he proved himself a successful workman. Wesley, whose keen eye was not slow to mark the abilities of his itinerants, refers to him in his journal for December, 1758. 'I found the society at Colchester,' he wrote, 'had decreased since Laurence Coughlan went away; and yet they had full as good preachers. But that is not suffi-

cient ; by repeated experiments we learn, that though a man preach like an angel, he will neither collect, nor preserve a society which is collected, without visiting them from house to house.' Coughlan's name appears several times in the records of the itinerants of his day, and always with honorable mention. He was one of a number in London, who about 1761–2, professed to receive the blessing of Christian perfection, but who, unfortunately, imbibed some false notions respecting it. At a later period, when he discovered his error, he threw the blame upon Wesley. Wesley, in reply, stated his teaching respecting the doctrine of 'Perfection,' and added, 'If you or Mr. Maxfield took it to be anything else, it was your own fault, not mine; and when you waked out of that dream, you ought not to have laid the blame of it upon me.' Whatever differences of opinion may have been developed at a later date, it is, however, certain that in 1762, Wesley and his warm-hearted itinerant were one in spirit and purpose. Letters written by him to Wesley during that year are indicative of strong attachment to him, and of happiness and success in the prosecution of his work. 'I find Christ,' he wrote, 'to be exceeding precious to my soul ; and it is my one desire to do His will. My soul is as a watered garden ; my life is hid with Christ in God. And I believe that when Christ who is my life shall appear, I shall appear with Him in glory.'

Coughlan remained in connection with Wesley until 1765, when his name ceased to appear in the list of Conference appointments. Wesley, though convinced by the reading of Lord King's 'History of the Primitive Church,' that he himself was a true scriptural bishop, hesitated to make a practical assertion of his belief, by the ordination of his preachers, until

some years later. In 1763, Erasmus, a bishop of the Greek Church, visited England. Wesley, feeling deeply the want of ordained helpers, and seeing little prospect of obtaining them in consequence of the opposition of the bishops of the Episcopal Church ; and fully satisfied with the abundant testimonials of Erasmus, requested him to ordain one of his preachers, ' a man of considerable learning, good abilities, and of deep piety, and who for more than seventeen years had acted faithfully the part of an itinerant preacher,' to assist him in administering the Sacraments to his societies. Erasmus complied. No sooner, however, was the fact made known to the public, that one of the itinerants had been ordained, than several others applied for and received from the good-tempered bishop, the same episcopal favor. Charles Wesley took 'huge offence ;' and in consequence the parties ordained had either to refrain from the exercise of their newly-conferred ministerial functions, or to submit to removal from the Connexion. Laurence Coughlan, ordained by Erasmus in 1764, was one of those who in consequence of this alternative withdrew from the list of itinerants. It is satisfactory to know that this step did not seriously interfere with the previous friendship between Wesley and himself. We next meet with Coughlan in Newfoundland, where he arrived in 1765, one year previous to that in which Embury commenced to preach in New York. By what human agency his steps were directed toward that distant colony, it is not easy, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, to say. His movement westward was, it is probable, but an earlier development of that missionary spirit, a natural result of the doctrines of Methodism, which, a few years later, led Boardman, Pilmoor, Asbury, and Rankin across the wide Atlantic.

[1] Tyerman's 'Life and Times of Wesley.' Vol. 3, p. 25.

When Coughlan landed on the shores of Conception Bay, in 1765, he found in the district surrounding that Bay alone, a population of more than five thousand persons for whose souls no man cared. Two Episcopal ministers were the only ministers in the island. One of these resided at St. John's ; the other had fixed his headquarters at Trinity Bay. About four-fifths of the inhabitants of Conception Bay were English, or the children of English parents, from the neighborhood of Poole and other parts of Dorsetshire. They had come from a part of England where Methodism had made slow progress ; and their views of religion, it is probable, had not been improved by removal to a part of Newfoundland where the services of the sanctuary were altogether unknown. Coughlan tells us that no minister had been in that part of the island previously to his arrival ; and that many of the people declared that at first they went not to hear him, but to see whether he looked 'like another man.' Besides the inhabitants of English descent were a large number of Irish Roman Catholics. If we take our impression of the moral state of the inhabitants from the estimate given by one, who, in the course of his labors in Newfoundland at a later period, met with a few who had listened to Coughlan, we must regard it as of a character calculated to rouse the energies of any man believing in the power of the Gospel to save. The Sabbath was unknown ; there was no person to celebrate marriage, and marriage was lightly regarded ; while oppression, violence, profanity and licentiousness were practiced without any check. 'Imagine any sin you will,' said an old Methodist to Mr. Wilson one day, when speaking of the state of the inhabitants of Conception Bay at the time of Coughlan's arrival ; 'Imagine any sin you will, and you cannot think of anything too bad.' 'As to the Gospel,'

remarks Coughlan, 'they had not the least notion of it; drinking, dancing and gaming, they were acquainted with: these they were taught by the Europeans who came annually to fish.'

Coughlan had labored more than a year among the inhabitants of Harbor Grace and Carbonear with little apparent success, save that his plain and earnest preaching, and his evident interest in their welfare, had won for him their general esteem and confidence, when they resolved to send a request to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, asking his appointment among them as a missionary, in the service of that Society. They were aided in their efforts by the solicitations of Wesley, and the Countess of Huntington. Notice of his appointment is found in the Report of the Society published in 1767. 'Upon the petition of the inhabitants of Harbor Grace and Carbonear,' it is stated, 'the Society have this year appointed another missionary in these parts, the Rev. Mr. Laurence Coughlan, a gentleman recommended by the inhabitants, among whom he had resided some time as their minister, and to whose support they promise to contribute to the utmost of their ability.' Soon after receiving notice of his appointment, Coughlan sailed for England to receive ordination from the Bishop of London, to whose care the interests of the Episcopal Church in the Colonies were committed; and at the beginning of September, 1767, returned to Newfoundland.[2] After a careful survey of his field of labor, he informed the Committee of the Society, that in the district of Conception Bay there were at the time 403 families and 5621 individuals. Of these 4494 were English; the remaining 1127 were Irish. Among them he at once re-commenced his labors. In winter, in addition to the

[2] Wilson's 'Newfoundland and its Missionaries,' p. 138.

regular services of the Sabbath, he went from house to house reading and expounding the Scriptures four times in each week. Aware of the fact that the English language speaks to the 'head,' while the Irish speaks more directly to the 'heart' of his impressible countrymen, he preached to them in their own language, and was cheered by the presence of many of them, though Roman Catholics, at the church.

Faithful labor seemed for a long time to be in vain. Nearly three years passed without 'the least appearance of any awakening.' The missionary's heart at last sank within him. 'I was determined,' he writes, 'that I would not stay in such a poor desolate land, and spend my strength for naught.' In accordance with this determination, he settled his affairs, preparatory to departure. The Head of the Church had ordered it otherwise. His servant had been taught the lesson of human weakness; he was now to learn the lesson of Divine power. He had sown in tears; he was now to reap in joy. Suddenly, and without any apparent cause, the whole district of Conception Bay became agitated by a powerful religious influence. 'The way,' says Coughlan, [3] 'in which this work began was remarkable. For three years I labored night and day from house to house; but I could not perceive any appearance of conviction or conversion take place throughout the parish. My poor heart often cried out, 'the power will come at such a time, and under such a sermon,' but the voice of God is not in our way, or time, but when He will, and by whom, and in what manner He pleases. At length God was pleased to bless my endeavors in a very wonderful manner; for now many were pricked to the heart, and cried out, 'what must I do to

[3] Coughlan's 'Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland,' p. 71; and Report of S. P. G., 1768, p. 43.

be saved?' Some prayed aloud in the congregation; others praised aloud, and declared what God had done for their souls. Nor was this only at their private meetings now and then, but also in the great congregation. The word was now like fire, or like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces. It was indeed quick and powerful, sharper than a two edged sword. Under almost every sermon and exhortation, some were cut to the heart, and others rejoiced in loud songs of praise.'

A new difficulty now presented itself. Previously, the isolated pastor had groaned over the absence of results; he now grew anxious on account of the accompaniments of success. The outcries connected with the services held in the church and in the private houses perplexed him. 'I was at a stand,' he says, 'and did not know what to do. That the mighty power of God came down was very manifest, but my great fear was that the devil would strive to mingle therewith some false fire, and impose upon some, in order to bring an evil report upon the good work.' The difficulty which presented itself to Coughlan was not a novel one. Edwards in America, and Wesley in England, as well as the leaders in other revivals, had, at the most successful period of their ministry, to weigh carefully such questions as now called for solution. They frequently embarrass successful Christian workers at the present day. Coughlan's conduct was wise. 'With regard to crying out,' he states, 'I never encouraged it, nor dare I speak directly against it.' Some years after, as he reviewed the work and his perplexity respecting it, he wrote, 'In this God took care of His own work, which was sweetly carried on every week, God daily adding numbers to the Church, such as should be eternally saved.'

Enthusiasm in evil receives from mankind less notice

than earnestness in effort to gain eternal life. True devotion to our higher interests is an offence the world finds it hard to forgive. Reports soon reached the other settlements of the bay, and some other districts of the island, that madness had seized the inhabitants of Harbor Grace and Carbonear. The truth of the report was assumed; but out of the evil God extracted good. 'The report of the madness,' Coughlan says, 'brought many from various quarters to hear for themselves; and when they heard, many of them were like the Bereans; they searched the Scriptures, and found what they heard to be agreeable thereto. Some came fifteen, some twenty miles to hear the word. I have known some come with their babes in their arms over mountains of snow, at the hazard of their lives.' Invitations to visit other parts of the bay were received, and were accepted as frequently as the weather would permit; and the work continued to spread. Hours that had been wasted in Sabbath-breaking, drinking, gambling and other prevalent vices, were now spent in praise, prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. Little assemblies for worship were soon formed in the more remote parts of the district, whence attendance upon Coughlan's ministry could only be occasional; and in a short time two additional churches were erected. The triumphant death of one of the converts, and the sad death of a scoffer, soon after the commencement of the revival, made a deep impression upon the settlers and tended to the confirmation of the Gospel.

The simple earnestness of the people at Black Head gave Coughlan peculiar pleasure. 'They proposed to me,' he writes, 'to point out a place where I would choose to build a church, which was agreed upon. Accordingly all hands went into the woods and cut down

as much timber as they wanted, which they hauled out upon what they called slides. When they had the timber upon the place, they sent for me, and I went, thinking there was not one stick hewn. However they had made great progress in the work. The said church was made and covered in, in less than fourteen days. It contained four hundred people. God raised up here a precious people. Some I doubt not are from this place gone to glory; and I trust there are a few to this day who continue steadfast, and will be my crown of rejoicing at the great day.' As frequent attendance on his own part at Black Head was not possible, Coughlan made arrangements for the public reading of prayers, and also of a sermon, which he regularly supplied. When the weather permitted, they frequently attended the services at Carbonear and Harbor Grace, travelling a distance of eighteen miles by boat. Coughlan tells us that he had often known them 'come over the mighty waters at the hazard of their lives.'

The numerical results of the work, we glean from the annual reports forwarded by the Missionary to the Society under the direction of which he labored. Previous to the close of the year 1768, he was able to report the administration of the Lord's supper, once in each month, to eighty constant communicants. At the end of the following year the number of communicants had increased to one hundred and sixty; and a year later the number had reached two hundred.

From a letter addressed to Wesley by Coughlan, shortly before the departure of the latter from Newfoundland, we learn in what way he cared for those who had been awakened under his ministry. 'I am and do confess myself,' he wrote, 'to be a Methodist. The name I love, and hope I ever shall. The plan which you first taught

me, I have followed, both as to doctrine and discipline. Our married men meet apart once a week; and our married women do the same. This has given great offence; so that repeated complaints have been made to the Governor. But truth is mighty and will prevail. In the winter I go from house to house, and expound some part of God's word. This has also given great offence. But God is above men, devils, and sin.' [4]

Wesley had not been unmindful of his former fellow-laborer. The tide had scarcely turned, to the joy of the latter, when Wesley sent him words of cheer. 'Dear Laurence,' he wrote near the end of August, 1768, 'By a various train of providences you have been led to the very place where God intended you should be. And you have reason to praise Him that He has not suffered your labour there to be in vain. In a short time how little will it signify whether we had lived in the Summer Islands, or beneath

'The rage of Arctos and eternal frost.'

How soon will this dream of life be at an end! And when we are once landed in eternity, it will be all one, whether we spent our time in a palace, or had not where to lay our head.' [5] Wesley's expression of sympathy and encouragement was timely. Incessant labor, and the constant use of food to which he had not been accustomed, had begun to impair Coughlan's health, and affect his nervous system. His 'apprehension of the sea,' when travelling in 'the very small boats,' rendered his life 'one continued martyrdom;' and the poor accommodation permitted by the houses in which he was frequently obliged to make his home, rendered absence from his head-quarters dangerous to health. 'In the morning,'

[4] 'Arminian Magazine,' 1785, p. 491.

[5] Wesley's 'Journal,' vol. 3, p. 324.

he quaintly writes respecting some 'prophet's chambers' he was wont to occupy, 'my bedside has had a beautiful white covering of snow, and my shoes have been so hard frozen that I could not well put them on till brought to the fire. But under all this,' he adds, 'I was supported by seeing a glorious work going on.'

Trials of a different, and much more serious character, soon made sympathy of peculiar value. Newfoundland would prove a solitary exception had the earlier efforts of Methodism to bless her sons, by turning them away from their iniquities, been put forth in the absence of all opposition. The history of the island presents no such exception. That 'the carnal mind is enmity against God' is everywhere true. Coughlan soon learned, that while the application of plain language to deeds of evil, and reasoning on 'righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come,' with the frequent statement of 'repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ,' as the sole conditions on which pardon and eternal life can be obtained, were leading some to abandon sin and enter upon a life of faith, they were awakening in others a spirit of bitter opposition, not only against the truth itself, but against him who preached it. Failing in their efforts to hinder the work of God by the use of quiet means, Coughlan's opponents resorted to open and undisguised persecution. A merchant called upon him, as a representative of the body of merchants, to inform him that they regarded his way of preaching as 'madness,' and would, unless it were changed, withdraw their support. On the next Lord's day morning the missionary read for his text, 'I am not mad.' It is scarcely probable that the Apostle himself would have preached a more pointed sermon from his own suggestive words, if we may judge from the outline the preacher has pre-

served. 'From these words,' he tells us, 'I first showed who they were that might properly be said to be mad, namely, drunkards, swearers, etc.; and in the next place I showed that those who were turned from darkness unto light, and who feared God and worked righteousness, could not with any propriety be called mad.' From this time a number of the leading men withheld their subscriptions, and endeavored to stop the supplies from other quarters, but the Master prompted the hearts of the lowly to share their smaller store with His servant. A petition containing slanderous statements, and signed by 'twelve merchants and gentlemen, so-called,' was then forwarded to the Governor, with a request that Coughlan might be either silenced or removed from the island. Called before a 'court of judicature' to answer unexpected charges, his innocence was established, and his 'enemies were found liars.' This attempt to destroy his character was followed by an attempt to destroy his life by a dose to be passed to him by the doctor; but the doctor fortunately discovered the plan, and desired Coughlan to be upon his guard.

Ten years of itinerant life in England and Ireland, at a time when Wesley and his helpers were everywhere spoken against, had prepared Coughlan to bear up against the persistent opposition of his enemies. Yet the efforts of his opposers, though they failed to move him from his steadfastness, acted, if we may judge from the returns forwarded to the Society, as a check to the progress of the work. During the two succeeding years the number of communicants remained the same. In 1771 he visited nearly all the harbors in the bay, and reported the inhabitants as generally willing to receive instruction. In November, 1772, he wrote to Wesley, 'We have the sacrament once a month, and have about

two hundred communicants. This is more than all the other missionaries in the land have; nor do I know of any who attend our sacrament who have not the fear of God; and some are happy in his love. There are also some whose mouths God hath opened to give a word of exhortation. I hope he will raise up more.'[6] 'Discipline,' he added, 'has been under God, the preserving of my society. My preaching in this land would do little good were it not for our little meetings.'

At this time Coughlan had begun to look homeward. In a letter to Wesley, he remarks, 'I am now in the seventh year of my servitude as a missionary, at the end of which I hope to return to England. Could I travel up and down this land, so as to be useful any longer, I would gladly stay; but as I cannot, except by water in small boats, I am not able to stand it. The Society, I make no doubts, have many complaints against me; but in this I shall commit all to God; for I am conscious to myself that what I do is for the glory of God and the good of souls.'

Coughlan left Newfoundland toward the close of the year 1773. It is probable that his connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at once ceased; his name is not found in the report for the following year. Previously to his return he had written to Wesley respecting his continuance in the Episcopal ministry. 'If I could get a place in the Church,' he wrote, 'would you advise me to accept of it? If I know my own heart, I would be where I could be most useful. To be shut up in a little parish church, and to conform in every little thing for sixty or a hundred pounds a year, I would not; no, not even for a thousand.' By whom the first steps toward separation were taken is not known.

[6] 'Arminian Magazine' 1785, p. 491.

The statement of the views expressed to Wesley, would make withdrawal on the one part, or dismission on the other, a matter of easy accomplishment. In the year 1776 he published his 'Brief account of the work of God in Newfoundland,' from which we have made frequent quotations. At the time of the publication of this little work, dedicated to Lady Huntingdon, he was minister of Cumberland Street Chapel, London. Some time after, he applied to Wesley for a circuit, but the Master bade him rest from his labors. While in conversation with Wesley in his study, he was seized with paralysis. For the little that we know of the closing hours of his life we are indebted to Wesley, who stood near him shortly before his departure. In February, 1785, Wesley wrote to John Stretton of Harbor Grace, 'The last time I saw Mr. Coughlan he was ill in body, but in a blessed state of mind. He was utterly broken in pieces; full of tears and contrition for his past unfaithfulness. Not long after I went out of town God removed him to a better place.' [8] We have no reason to infer from these words that Wesley's friend had, during any period of his ministry, openly departed from his God.

Nearly fifty years after Coughlan's return to England, a Newfoundland missionary met with several persons who had been converted under his ministry, and had 'for more than half a century lived in the favor of God, and uniformly adorned their religious profession.' But traces of the influence of Coughlan's labors in Newfoundland may be found beyond the limits of that colony. If he knew before his departure, and he lived long enough to know, how the truths preached by him in Newfoundland had been received as good seed into the hearts of strangers, and had by them been borne to friends and neigh-

bors in those beautiful dwellings in the sea, the Norman Isles, he must have felt a deep satisfaction.

A young man from Jersey, Pierre Le Sueur, having become proprietor of an estate on the coast of Newfoundland, had occasion to be frequently there. With several others from the same island, he heard the Gospel from the lips of Coughlan, and a zealous young man converted under Coughlan's ministry. At the close of one of his periodical visits he returned to Jersey, deeply impressed by the truths to which he had listened. He was married soon after, to a young woman of amiable disposition and good moral character, but by no means in sympathy with his religious feelings. In the presence of ridicule and opposition at home, and with the fear that obedience to the promptings of an awakened conscience would involve the ruin of a promising business, he hesitated to yield to the convictions of duty. The Holy Spirit continued to strive with him. At length, in the face of threatened ruin he dared to be singular. At this critical period, John Tantin, who had been converted in Newfoundland, returned to his home in Jersey. Le Sueur sent for him, and they read the Scriptures and prayed together. After nights spent in weeping, praying and the study of his Bible, Le Sueur one morning, while upon his knees, found the long sought blessing. His wife soon began to pray, and after intense mental suffering, she too found peace with God, while kneeling at her husband's side. Through the simple relation of the experience of the husband and wife, and their friend Tantin, twelve others, in the course of a few weeks, were convinced of sin. Le Sueur's fears respecting his business were soon realized; to such an extent, indeed, that he and his family were frequently delivered from want of bread only by the direct interposition of providence. Yet he held on his

way; and responding to invitations from other parts of the islands, soon began to preach the power of Christ to save. A captain reaching Jersey on business encouraged him; a blind Calvinist preacher went over and preached for some time with success; in 1783 a detachment of troops, some of whom had received the Gospel through the preaching of Captain Webb, arrived at the Island; and in answer to the request of the pious soldiers, and of Le Sueur and his friends, conveyed to Wesley, Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq., a wealthy layman, acquainted with the French language, who had begun to preach, was at once despatched to Jersey. He reached the island about the time of Coughlan's death, and formed the converts into Methodist societies.[7] From Jersey, Methodism reached the other islands. From the Norman Isles to France was but a step; and a few years later that step was taken. Of the work done by Methodism in France, statistics convey but a partial idea. Many of the most active ministers, and multitudes of the best members of the French Protestant Churches, have been brought to God through the instrumentality of Methodism; but have been led by a strong feeling of nationality to transfer their allegiance from a Church of foreign origin to communities more essentially French in origin and character. Nevertheless, among the 'Affiliated Conferences' which at stated times present their greetings, and in return receive words of Christian counsel from the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference, is the French Methodist Conference, formed in 1852, with its thirty pastors and eighteen hundred and eighty-three church members.

[7] 'Methodist Magazine,' 1820. p. 801.

CHAPTER III.

METHODISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND FROM THE RETURN OF LAURENCE COUGHLAN TO ENGLAND IN 1773, TO THE ARRIVAL OF JOHN McGEARY IN 1785.

The local ministry of Methodism. Its connection with the establishment of Methodism at home and abroad. Local Preachers in Newfoundland. Their efforts to sustain and extend the work. Christmas, 1774. Stretton's visit to Heart's Content. Journey of Stretton and Thomey around Conception Bay. Their visit to the Congregationalists at St. John's. John Hoskins. Moral condition of Old Perlican at the time of his arrival. Results of Hoskins' efforts. Visit of Hoskins to England. Refusal of Bishop Lowth to ordain him. Wesley's letter to the Bishop. Persecution. Revival at Island Cove. Visit of Hoskins to Trinity. Hostility of the merchants to the preacher and his message. Outrageous treatment of Hoskins. Speedy retribution. Return of Hoskins to Trinity. His more favorable reception. He visits Bonavista. Death of Thomey. Stretton's appeal to Wesley for a Missionary. Arrival of John McGeary.

The rapid growth of Methodism must be ascribed, in part, to the early employment of a local ministry. Soon after Wesley had permitted Maxfield to preach, only because he dared not prevent him, he became convinced that in his efforts to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land, important aid might be derived from the partial labors of intelligent and pious laymen. Thenceforward he and his early associates not merely allowed such men, when moved by the Spirit, to exhort or to preach under peculiar circumstances, but urged upon them the performance of such duties to the full extent of their ability. They went even farther; for they connected their continuance in the faith, and their growth in grace, with the proper discharge of such duties as their own judgment with that of their pastors and brethren, should make incumbent upon them. From these

Christian workers, trained in the narrower sphere of local labor, Methodism has from the beginning called forth the men, who under her auspices, have served the Master in the wider sphere of the itinerancy.

To the local section of the ministry of Methodism belongs the distinguished honor of having furnished the pioneers of their church in many lands. Gilbert and Baxter in Antigua; Strawbridge, Embury and Webb in the United States; Tuffey and Neal in the Upper provinces of the Canadian Dominion; Brown, Gordon and Jordan in Sierra Leone; and Piercy in China, not to speak of others, were the first to raise in the countries named, the standard around which many thousands have since ranged themselves. Not less honorable has been the position of many of their brethren, who with patient toil, have watched over sections of the work, which, in the absence of the regular ministry through death, or removal to more promising fields, must, but for their labors, have been wholly neglected. To the earnestness and self-denial of these, and thousands more among her laymen, who have devoted not only hours of leisure, but hours not easily to be spared from the allotted toil of body or brain, to preach the Gospel without fee or reward, an immense debt of gratitude is due by Methodists throughout the world. The names of the great body of these are not to be found in the earlier or later records of the church, but Heaven has preserved an unerring list; and they shall be seen and known when 'they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.'

The care of the work of God in Newfoundland devolved upon Christian laymen for some years after the departure of Coughlan.

Writers on Methodism in that island have merely

mentioned the name of Thomas Pottle of Carbonear. He was a clerk in the employ of a company of merchants at that place. After a 'long career of sin and vice' he had been led to Christ under the ministry of Coughlan, with whom he shares the honor of the extension of Methodism to the Norman Isles. Le Sueur had heard the truth from his lips; and was much indebted to him for the 'very animating and comforting letters which he occasionally wrote him, urging him to stand fast in the Lord.'[1]

Arthur Thomey, an intelligent Irish merchant, was among the first fruits of Coughlan's ministry at Harbor Grace, where he resided. He became an acceptable local preacher, and according to an intimate fellow-labour, was 'endowed with both gifts and grace.'

Allusion is also made in documents of that day to others whose names have not been preserved. Mr. V. is said by one of the flock to have been 'a great strength to us, and a faithful servant to God and man.' He remained in the neighborhood only a year after Coughlan's departure. Honorable mention is also made of W. H., a 'poor fisherman,' who was the first to open his mouth boldly in the name of his Master. 'He is a serious and true Christian, and labours indefatigably; I trust his talent will obtain many tens,' wrote one of his hearers to Coughlan in November, 1774. Thomey, when writing to Coughlan early in the following year, referred to a sermon W. H. had preached on the previous Sabbath, and remarked, 'I should have been glad that some of our modern, fine, witty, gentlemen had been present. How doth God in His wisdom make use of the weak and foolish to confound the wise and mighty.' Coughlan wrote to him to stir up the gift that was in him.

To John Stretton, however, must be accorded the

[1] 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine' 1820, p. 601.

post of honor among these worthies. His name, on account of his long continued services in connection with Methodism in Newfoundland, can never be forgotten by Colonial Methodists. His father and mother were among the early friends of Wesley and his followers in Limerick. The son removed to Waterford, where he carried on an important branch of business in the trade with Newfoundland. To increase his business he resolved to remove to that colony. He had been favourable to Methodism, but not decided for God. Shortly before his departure from Ireland, Mrs. Eliza Bennis, a devoted woman connected with the Methodist Society in Limerrick, visited him, and became the instrument of his conversion. For years after his arrival in the colony, this elect lady, whom he calls in one of his letters, 'my sister, my spiritual mother, my best friend,' continued to write to him; and her glowing letters, full of life and fire, had much to do with making Stretton the man he was, during the earlier years of his residence in Newfoundland.[2] In the autumn of 1770, he arrived at Carbonear, whence late in the following year he removed to Harbor Grace. Here he met constantly in one of Coughlan's classes. The death of his mother soon after his removal, and his marriage with an excellent Christian woman, a native of Newfoundland, led to his permanent residence in the island.

Upon Stretton and his friend Thomey devolved the care of the little flock at Harbor Grace, on the return of Coughlan to England. The opposition against which the missionary had so bravely striven, did not cease at his departure. The magistrates who had opposed him took possession of the church, read prayers, and preached on alternate Sabbaths, with the intention of holding

[2] 'Ireland and the Centenary of American Methodism,' p. 221.

the building until the arrival of Coughlan's successor. They also refused to allow the members of the class to meet in the church on the Sabbath evenings, as they had been accustomed to do. Under the severe pressure brought to bear upon them, some of the converts yielded and fell. Bold action, under the circumstances, became necessary on the part of those who remained faithful. 'Mr. Arthur Thomey and I,' writes Stretton, 'being disquieted with this mode of action on the part of the justices, resolved to oppose the torrent of iniquity. We gathered a few together who loved the Lord Jesus, and found among them a poor fisherman, who was not ashamed of his heavenly Master, but boldly stood up and spoke in His name. Him we constantly attend. Mr. Thomey also exhorts, and is endowed with both gifts and grace. We drew up rules as like Mr. Wesley's as we could, consistently with local circumstances. Our number is about thirty, who, I believe, are sincere.' [3]

Pottle, in the meantime, endeavoured to do at Carbonear what his friends Stretton and Thomey were doing at Harbor Grace. He had less opposition to contend with than they. The church left at his disposal, he at once occupied. A lovefeast held there at Christmas 1773, greatly cheered him. 'The gracious Redeemer,' he wrote, 'made it a lovefeast indeed, and turned our water into wine.' With earnest longings he addressed himself to the care of the work which Coughlan had left in his charge. 'Oh that I had power from on high,' he said, 'that I could once venture into the highways without crutches, and call in poor sinners to feast with such a merciful Saviour; but my faculties are so

[3] 'Christian Correspondence, being a Collection of Letters by the late Rev. John Wesley, the late Mrs. Eliza Bennis, and others.'

destroyed by a long course of sin and vice, that to me it seems impossible that ever I should do any great work for Christ. However, I hope that He will make me willing to do whatever I am capable of, and make me anything or nothing, so that I may glorify Him, and be His humble servant still.' Such longings are never in vain. His profiting soon appeared. Toward the close of 1774 he cast away his crutches, and preached sermons prepared by himself. We are not surprised, in view of the more direct application of the Gospel which he was consequently enabled to make to the circumstances and sins of the people of Carbonear, that he should soon have to report, 'This hath procured me many enemies.' Previously to the arrival of the missionary appointed in Coughlan's stead, he not only conducted the services on the Sabbath, but preached in the winter twice, and in the summer once, in each week. In a review of his work, in a letter addressed to Coughlan in the latter part of 1774, Pottle names some who have drawn back, and sorrowfully adds, 'My greatest enemies are those that once professed and owned a crucified Saviour; but now they are apostates. Oh, how cutting are these things.' At the same time it was his privilege to mention to his spiritual father, the names of some who were 'holding on their way bravely:' and of others whom he hoped had under his ministry experienced conversion.

Balfour, transferred from Trinity Bay by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, arrived at Conception Bay, in October 1774, as Coughlan's successor. He informed the Society, soon after reaching his new station, that at Harbor Grace, where he had administered the Lord's Supper to more than one hundred communicants, he had been received with great kindness; but that at Carbonear he had to contend with some 'prejudices',

as the inhabitants of that place were 'Dissenters and Methodists,' and wished for a teacher of 'their own persuasion.' He hoped soon however, 'by gentle applications to bring them to a better mind.'[4]

The reported results of Balfour's ministry of fourteen years at Trinity Bay, led those who had embraced the truth under Coughlan at Harbor Grace, to receive his successor with a degree of distrust, which his presence unfortunately failed to remove. They attended his services, but did not abandon their own. On Sabbaths and week-days they met in private houses, to enjoy a more spiritual religion than that which held sway at the parish church. Christmas, 1774, was a day of rare joy to the little flock in the wilderness. They observed it, wrote Stretton, 'as the Methodists in Europe.' Thomey, in a letter to Coughlan, describes the 'holy duties' and 'holy pleasures' in which the day passed. 'We assembled at J. P.'s at five in the morning, sang praises, and prayed, and exhorted, and every heart rejoiced in our Christ; we continued thus till eight o'clock; had prayers at ten, and again at three in the afternoon, and our dear Lord continued present all the day; at night we had a love-feast at S.'s (formerly your house,) and such a blessed meeting we never saw.' Stretton, who conducted the meeting, gave out the hymn with which such services are usually commenced, but when he reached the words

'Christ hath burst the bonds of death,
We his quickening Spirit breathe,'

he could proceed no farther. All present shared in his deep emotion; and a backslider professed to find again the influences of that Spirit whose presence filled the hearts of Stretton and his fellow laborers with holy

[4] Report S. P. G., 1776.

gladness. Doubts, which followed this manifestation of the Spirit, were removed by conversation with his friend Thomey, and Stretton was thus prepared to go forth with greater confidence in the path which Providence had marked out for him. For some time he hesitated to speak in public. But having become convinced that he must 'take the superintendence, or see the society decay,' he regarded himself as called upon to take a more prominent position. In 'great fear of being one of those who run before they are sent,' he began, at Christmas, 1775, to exhort. His friend at Limerick, whom he had desired her to ask Wesley's opinion as to his duty in this direction, replied, 'Beware how you desist from labour. The Lord has called you to work in His vineyard; wait then until He is pleased to dismiss you.'

The work which, prompted by necessity, these Christian merchants took upon themselves, was not light. In summer, the business of fishing gave too little time for necessary sleep and food, and permitted services only on the Sabbath; in the winter season they preached two or three times in each week in private houses. Their labors did not end at Harbor Grace, or at those places to which business called them. In the winter of 1776-7, Stretton travelled overland, through a dreary country, to Heart's Content in Trinity Bay, where the people 'had never heard the joyful sound.' He found them deeply sunk in ignorance and vice, and feared that his labor was in vain. 'Yet I have since felt', he wrote, 'as if God would bless the seed sown.' More cheering, in its immediate results, was an excursion of about sixty miles around Conception Bay, undertaken by himself and Thomey at the Christmas season of the following winter. During this journey they preached at each inhabited place. The people flocked to hear, and they again and again repeated their

visits. Their labors at one settlement were followed by marked success. 'Where there were but four dry professors,' says Stretton, 'a society of thirty seven, nearly all believers, was soon established. One evening at a love-feast four were set at liberty. Open profligates were convinced and converted. Two aged sinners, one a hundred years old, and the other eighty, were called in. We saw old and young flocking to the ordinances in the most inclement weather, from one to five miles distant.'

From two other visits made about this period, these Christian laborers derived much encouragement. At St. John's they met the little band of devoted men, who, in the face of hostile influences, laid the foundation of the Congregational church in that town. As each party told the other of the way their Lord had led them, consciousness of the endurance of common trials, as well as the experience of the same divine help, served as a strong bond of union. These brethren, only eight in number, and very poor, had built 'a neat little meeting house.' 'They are Calvinists,' said Stretton, 'but have the genuine mark of love, and wherever that is met with, we joyfully give the right hand of fellowship.' A journey of nearly fifty miles, in another direction, led them to the home at Old Perlican, of another servant of their Master, of whom they had hitherto known little. The joy of the meeting was mutual. 'He and we,' remarks Stretton, 'were much comforted by this visit.'

The narrative of this evangelist of Trinity Bay possesses rare interest. [5] Several months after the work in Conception Bay had been put under the care of lay brethren, another lay-laborer, more humble, perhaps, in worldly circumstances than they, but rich in faith, left England to commence the work in another part of New-

[5] 'Arminian Magazine,' 1785.

foundland. John Hoskins left his native land unconscious of the work before him, but under the direction of Providence. 'When I was about fourteen years of age,' he tells us, 'I tasted of the love of God and felt the powers of the world to come. From that time I had frequently strong desires to live to God; to give myself wholly to him. In 1746 I first heard the Methodists at Bristol. The word fell on my soul as dew on the tender herb. I received it with joy, and soon joined the society. In about three weeks I received a clear sense of forgiveness, but soon fell into reasouing and doubting. Sometimes I was in heaviness through manifold temptations; and it was near ten years before I received the abiding witness.' At the age of fifty-six he determined to leave Britain for New England, where, he says, 'I intended to keep a school for my living, and spend my little remains of life with the people of God, and, as far as I was able, to help forward the salvation of others.' With the intention of going out to Newfoundland, to remain there till he could obtain sufficient money to pay for the passage of himself and his son thence to New England, he left London in March, 1775, and went down to Poole, where he embarked for Newfoundland. After a passage of five weeks he reached Trinity. 'I saw myself indeed,' he wrote afterwards, 'a poor pilgrim on the earth having no money; nor did I know one person in the place. As I was walking about on the shore, seeing a few low, mean houses or rather huts, built with wood; and a rocky desolate country; and meditating on the destruction which sin hath made in the world, I rejoiced exceedingly that I was under the care and protection of an Almighty and all-gracious God. Going by one of these houses, I heard a child cry ; and thought as there was a family, there might be some person with whom I might

advise how to get into business ; yet I was afraid, as I had been on board a ship with a crew of English, cursing, swearing savages, lest I should meet with the like people in this barren and uncultivated country. However, I knocked at the door, when a woman, the mother of the family, came out and asked me and my son to come in. She gave us some seal and bread to eat, and some coffee to drink, the best the house afforded. She then directed me to several places where she thought I might get into business. The minister of the place, Balfour, advised me to keep a school at Old Perlican, a place seven leagues distant, across the Bay. Accordingly I went in a boat to Old Perlican. The people received me, and were glad of some one to teach their children, there being about fifty families in the place.'

Old Perlican, for several years the home of Hoskins, had been settled by Englishmen from the rural districts of England, whom the far-famed fisheries of Newfoundland had drawn from their quiet English homes. The hope of wealth had lured them across the ocean, but their expectations had not been realized. Their advantages at home had been few; there had been no educational opportunities in their adopted home; they were without a church, and at a too great distance from Trinity to receive much attention from the Episcopal minister stationed at that harbor; and were at the same time exposed to all the demoralizing influences of the fisheries as prosecuted at that day. It is not therefore strange that their social and moral condition was little better than that of the inhabitants of Conception Bay, at the time of Coughlan's arrival there.

Soon after the settlement of Hoskins at Old Perlican, the inhabitants invited him to read prayers and a sermon on the Sabbath. 'I accepted the call,' he wrote

Wesley, 'as from God. Accordingly I read the Church prayers, and some of your sermons, and sung your hymns by myself alone, for many weeks. For my congregation did not know how to behave in Divine service, not even to kneel in prayer, or sing at all, but would stand at a distance, and look at me as if I had been a monster. And yet they called themselves members of the Church of England.' To these efforts, he added frequent addresses upon some of the most important topics of Gospel teaching, as suggested by the Book of Prayer, or the Articles of the Church.

Hoskins' well directed efforts were not in vain. Several persons grew thoughtful, knelt at prayer, and assisted in singing. To the sincere and watchful christian toiler such changes are not without meaning. In a short time he found that six or seven persons were awakened, and were seeking salvation. He advised them to meet once a week, and promised to meet with them. They met on Sunday evening; their number soon increasing to sixteen, two or three of whom gave testimony of sins forgiven. About this time business brought Thomey to Old Perlican. By his advice Hoskins commenced to preach extemporaneously. A year later Thomey returned, and during his stay preached several times.

Hoskins seems now to have renounced his intention of proceeding to New England. The work under his charge continued to grow. Previous to Easter, 1778, a woman was suddenly convinced of sin; a few days later her husband joined her in seeking salvation. At the close of the morning service on Easter Sabbath, to several who remained in the house, the wife spoke of the experience through which she had passed. Six of those who listened to her asked 'What must we do be saved?'

and prayed so earnestly for the blessing received by neighbors, that others, alarmed, came forward to inquire the cause. Several found peace with God before leaving the house. Hoskins, when writing of that Easter Sabbath service, some years later, states that most of those who then professed faith in a risen Saviour, retained their confidence and proved the reality of it by their 'lives and conversation.'

During the winter of 1778-9 Hoskins visited England. The people at Old Perlican, still regarding themselves members of the Church of England, applied through Wesley to Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, to ordain him as their minister. Having resolved to maintain him themselves, they saw no reason for application to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Their request, the bishop, for several reasons, saw fit to deny.

Wesley was deeply grieved. On the day following the close of the Bristol Conference of 1780, he addressed to the bishop a letter such as has seldom been placed in the hands of a prelate. After remarking 'I dare not do otherwise; I am on the verge of the grave, and know not the hour when I shall drop into it,' he proceeded freely and fearlessly to deal with his lordship's favor, received 'some time since.'

"'Your lordship observes,' wrote Wesley, 'there are three ministers in that country already. 'True, my lord; but what are three to watch over all the souls in that extensive country? Suppose there were threescore of such missionaries in the country; could I in conscience recommend these souls to their care? Do they take care of their own souls? If they do, (I speak with concern,) I fear they are almost the only missionaries in America that do. My lord, I do not speak rashly; I have been in America, and so have several with whom I

have lately conversed, and both I and they know, what manner of men the greater part of these are. They are men who neither have the power of religion, nor the form; men that lay no claim to piety, nor even decency.

"I have heard that your lordship is unfashionably diligent in examining the candidates for holy orders; yea, that your lordship is generally at the pains of examining them yourself. Examining them! In what respects? Why, whether they understand a little Latin or Greek; and can answer a few trite questions in the science of divinity! Alas, how little does this avail! Does your Lordship examine whether they serve Christ or Belial? Whether they love God or the world? Whether they ever had any serious thoughts about heaven or hell? Whether they have any real desire to save their own souls, or the souls of others? If not, what have they to do with holy orders? And what will become of the souls committed to their care? My lord, I by no means despise learning: I know the value of it too well. But what is this, particularly in a Christian minister, compared to piety? What is it in a man that has no religion? As a jewel in a swine's snout.

"I don't know that Mr. Hoskins had any favor to ask of the Society. He asked the favor of your lordship to ordain him that he might minister to a little flock in America. But your lordship did not see good to ordain him; but your lordship did see good to ordain, and send to America other persons, who knew something of Greek and Latin, but knew no more of saving souls than of catching whales.' It is not at all strange that Wesley, convinced many years before that the 'uninterupted succession' was 'a fable which no man ever did or can prove;' and that he himself was a true

scriptural bishop; soon after broke down the limit which a desire for peace had so long maintained, and assisted by others equally qualified, set apart ministers for the work to which he believed the Holy Ghost had called them.

While prelatical sanction was thus denied to Hoskins, the seal of divine approval was placed upon the work he had begun. During his absence in England, the members of his flock met as they had been wont to do on the Sabbath, and twice in the week for mutual edification. In the month of January they were visited with an outpouring of spiritual influences which were felt throughout the settlement. They sent to Harbor Grace for Thomey, who, when he reached them, 'was glad, and exhorted them to continue in the grace of God.' His labors were rendered a blessing to many. The work was characterized by depth. 'The great point they sought to know,' says Hoskins, 'was the forgiveness of their sins; and those who expected it cried to God, and received it in a very short time. Within a month, thirty were added to the number of believers, and twenty to the society.' Several young persons, among them Hoskins' son, were brought to God. A father, whose son, aged fifteen, when ordered by him to work in his boat on Sunday, had 'wept and fallen into a fit,' was convinced of sin and became converted; and soon after his wife and two of his sons became earnest seekers of salvation. The triumphant deaths of two converts, one of whom had reached the age of threescore and ten, proved to Hoskins on his return, how thorough the work had been.

At Old Perlican, as elsewhere, men of the 'baser sort' set themselves to oppose the work of God. The term 'swaddler,' imported from Ireland, was freely

applied to the converts. A young man, sub-agent to a merchant of Poole, whose conviction of sin was so keen, and sense of pardon so overwhelming, that some thought him delirious, was forcibly taken from the meetings by the agent, and soon after sent to England. Several of Thomey's countrymen, armed with clubs, went one evening into the room where he was preaching, and declared with oaths that they would kill him. A blow aimed at his head struck the candlestick. Several persons then placed themselves between the preacher and his assailants, preventing further attack at the time. The attempt was renewed at the close of the meeting, but Thomey in the darkness passed very near the men who were calling loudly for him, and reached his lodgings in safety.

Tidings of the work at Old Perlican reached the adjacent harbors, from several of which persons came to make inquiries respecting it. Of those who came from Island Cove, a fishing village about eight miles distant, a part not only saw the results of the revival in the changed lives of others, but felt the power of God in the renewal of their own hearts. On their return they at once proceeded to tell their neighbors what great things the Lord had done for them. A little later, a church was built at Island Cove, and a society formed of thirty persons, twenty of whom were believers.

About the middle of August, 1780, the zealous schoolmaster, encouraged by past success, resolved to extend his labors to Trinity. A fisherman, authorized by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, read prayers occasionally in the church in which Balfour had officiated before his transfer to Harbor Grace. The preacher, and the truths he felt it his duty to proclaim, were met by the more influential men of Trinity in a spirit of determined hostility. Many of the inhabitants were will-

ing to hear, but none dared open their houses for preaching. Hoskins visited several homes, talking with the inmates upon the truths of which he could not speak in public, and leaving with them some tracts. Having remained three or four days, at the end of which there seemed to be no prospect of securing a room for preaching, he called at the office of a merchant to ask a passage in a boat about to leave for Old Perlican. Informed that the merchant was on board a vessel in the harbor, he obtained a boat and went in search of him. Soon after he had reached the deck, a sailor tauntingly said to him, 'Will you preach us a sermon?' and followed the question with a daub in the face from a tar-brush, filled with tar. One or two of the sailors then held him, while others nearly covered him with tar, the rest quietly looking on. The captain and the merchant were in the cabin at the time. No attempt was made by either to punish the men for this outrage; on the contrary, the merchant sanctioned their conduct by the remark that feathers would have been given by him, if asked for. As Hoskins left in the boat, the sailors shouted after him with curses, and flung at him a piece of wood, which, 'guided by an unseen hand, did him no harm.' The next day they sought him on shore; one of them provided with a knotted rope for the purpose of beating him, or any of his converts who might be in the place. This man lay down and fell asleep; and Hoskins, quite ignorant of his intention, passed by him while in search of a boat. A luckless stranger, pointed out to the man when he awaked, as a 'convert,' received a 'terrible' beating, in spite of his repeated protestations that he was no convert, nor even from Old Perlican, but from English Harbor. It would be hard to tell to what length the spirit of persecution would have gone, had a boat not

come from Old Perlican, and carried Hoskins away by stealth ; for all owners of boats in the harbor of Trinity had been forbidden to allow him a passage.

This persecution, in the end, tended to the furtherance of the Gospel. The captain and the merchant soon became ashamed of the transaction to which they had given their approval, and the immediate actors in it were visited with speedy retribution. In the course of a month one fell everboard and was drowned in the harbor; another on the passage to England was killed by a fall; and the man who had administered the tar, received a death wound from an accident on board the vessel, and died in great agony of mind on account of the share he had taken in the guilty deed. Certain appearances connected with the retribution, which may have been the results of an accusing conscience, but which he believed to be real, made such an impression upon the captain's mind, that on his return to Newfoundland, he boldly assured the merchants of Trinity that he would not, for all the world, abuse Hoskins, or any other preacher of the Gospel. To what point his convictions finally led him is not known; he however declared that he could not live in the midst of such wickedness as he was obliged to witness, and as quickly as possible withdrew from the Newfoundland trade, and went home to England to lead a more quiet life.

In the course of the following summer Hoskins was again found at Trinity. Arriving on Saturday, he took his stand on the Sabbath morning at the church door, where he distributed some tracts which were thankfully received. Through the week he visited from house to house; and on Saturday afternoon, put up a notice, that if there were no service in the church on the following morning, he would preach at eleven in the churchyard.

In the morning, the flag, which had not been raised during the summer, was hoisted to call the people to worship. Hoskins and several others entered the church, but no reader came; he therefore sang a few verses of a hymn and proceeded to offer prayer, when a constable entered and summoned him to appear before a magistrate. The magistrate, on his arrival, informed him that he had sent for him, to warn him not to preach in the churchyard. Hoskins said that he would not preach there if a house were offered; and in reply to a question concerning his right to preach under any circumstances, produced his Bible. The interview terminated in a friendly spirit, the magistrate informing him that he had no power to prevent him from preaching in any house or out of doors, so long as no riots were caused. That afternoon a man offered his house as a preaching-place; and in the evening Hoskins addressed a small, but decent and attentive congregation, who expressed a desire to hear him again. To these, and to several of their neighbors, he preached on the Monday evening. During the service of the following evening the house was 'beset with sailors and others,' but he continued speaking, and closed the meeting 'in great peace.'

In October, 1784 Hoskins went to Bonavista, about twenty leagues to the northward, to ascertain if the people were willing to listen to the Gospel. 'They are willing,' he wrote to Wesley, 'that I should come and teach their children to read and write; and perhaps by that means they will in time be inclined to receive the Gospel. Accordingly,' he added, 'I purpose going there in the spring to set up a school, and to preach as soon as I have the opportunity.'

At Harbor Grace and Carbonear, Stretton and Thomey became painfully conscious, that, in spite of occasional

circumstances of a cheering character, the work in their hands was declining. Popery was taking up a position at Harbor Grace; and there was great reason to fear its influence upon a lifeless Protestantism. Stretton resolved to write to Wesley. In the autumn of 1784, he informed him that the work of God seemed to be at a stand, while superstition and profanity were rapidly increasing; and urged him to send them a minister from England. 'It has not been the desire of getting rich which has kept me here,' he wrote, 'but I have been waiting to see the motion of the incumbent cloud, and dare not desert my post until lawfully discharged. Single and alone, the Lord has enabled me to withstand the whole place where I dwell, and I am still preserved by the power of God.'

The laborers had become few. Pottle disappears from Carbonear. He probably returned to England. Thomey was suddenly called to rest from his labors. Sailing for Portugal, where business rendered his presence necessary, he landed in November, 1784, at Oporto, retired at night in apparent good health, and died before morning. 'You can hardly conceive what I have felt on this melancholy occasion,' Stretton wrote to his friend in Limerick. 'Oh write to Mr. Wesley,' he imploringly added, 'not to forget us in this benighted corner. I still exercise my poor talents; but few come to hear me, and my present business prevents the excursions I used to take. Yet blessed be God, He keeps my soul in peace, looking for a revival of His work.'

To Hoskins, the review of the work at that period was of a more cheering character. At Old Perlican, where the congregation had grown so large that no house in the harbor would contain it, a small Methodist Church had been erected; a plain rough building, in which services were continued for nearly fifty years

The results of his labors at Island Cove have been stated. Those at Trinity were less marked, yet Methodism still lives there, after having from time to time sent its delegates to join the general assembly and church of the first born. Respecting the societies in these places he wrote in November, 1784; 'Our congregations enlarge; our societies increase; and many souls are gathered in to Christ. We have likewise several preachers raised out of these stones, who are blessed in their labors.' The retribution visited upon the persecutors of Hoskins at Trinity soon became widely known. Impressed by the facts, the very men who had threatened to drive him from the island, not only ceased to hinder him in the work, but became willing to help him by giving him a passage in their boats to any harbor to which he might wish to go. 'I have therefore,' he remarks, 'no cause to decline laboring for God.'[6]

These Methodist laymen need no human praise. They did bravely, during this period, the work assigned them by Providence. Though overborne, in some directions, by the tide of opposing influences, their own works shall hereafter 'praise them in the gates.'

Stretton's appeal to Wesley was not in vain. In February, 1785, he received a letter, in which Wesley, after an expression of approval for his having broken through his 'needless diffidence,' informed him that he had written to Dr. Coke, then in America, to 'call' upon the brethren in Newfoundland, as well as upon those in Nova Scotia, and 'perhaps leave them a preacher likewise.' He added, 'your preacher will be ordained. Go on in the name of the Lord, and in the power of His might. You shall want no assistance that is in the power of your affectionate friend and brother.'[7] Dr.

[6] 'Arminian Magazine,' 1785, p. 630.
[7] 'Methodist Magazine,' 1824, p. 307.

Coke never saw Newfoundland; but at the English Conference of 1785, the name of the island was placed on the 'Minutes,' with that of a single laborer appended. The fulfilment of a long cherished desire, was thus announced in November, 1785, by Stretton to Mrs. Bennis, to whose long-continued correspondence with Wesley, the favorable result may in part have been due; 'The Lord has indeed supplied the place of dear Thomey; for last month a preacher arrived from London, sent by Mr. Wesley. His name is John McGeary, a good man and a good preacher. I hope he will prove a blessing to this place. We wanted one wholly given to the work. A preacher should not be entangled with the affairs of this life.'

CHAPTER IV.

METHODISM IN NOVA SCOTIA FROM THE ARRIVAL OF YORKSHIRE METHODISTS AT CUMBERLAND IN 1772, TO THE ARRIVAL OF LOYALISTS IN 1783.

Arrival of settlers from the New England colonies. Guarantee of religious freedom to all Protestants coming into the Province. Arrival of settlers from Yorkshire. Their value from a political and religious point of view. Brief sketches of early Yorkshire Methodists. Hindrances to religious growth. Revival in Cumberland. Conversion of William Black, Jr. Subsequent struggles. His influence at home. He becomes a Local Preacher. His seizure with others, by the officer at Fort Cumberland. His visit to the Peticodiac river. Visit of Henry Alline to Cumberland. Resolution of Black to devote himself to the work of the ministry. Sketch of the Province at that period. Churches and Ministers of the Province. Alline's conversion and subsequent work. Black's labors in Cumberland. His trials there. His visit to the 'Lower towns'. John Smith of Newport. Moral and religious state of Halifax. Visit of Black to Halifax. His call to Annapolis. His return to Cumberland. Encouragement at Peticodiac. Second visit to the 'Lower towns.' Black's correspondence with Wesley respecting ministerial help in Nova Scotia.

The expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755, left many cultivated spots in the richer agricultural districts of the province untenanted. Over the ruins which dotted these, and marked the sites of former dwellings, whence the occupants had been rudely driven forth to be restless wanderers, an almost unbroken silence reigned for several years.

In the year 1758, Governor Lawrence held out inducements to the inhabitants of the New England colonies to remove to Nova Scotia, and take possession of the lands of those unfortunate exiles, who, through the intrigues of their priesthood, had been scattered over the American continent, or sent back to France. On one

point the Governor was silent: in his proclamation he made no reference to freedom of religious thought or worship. To that subject, colonists, whose fathers had left Europe in search of 'freedom to worship God,' attached pre-eminent importance. The delegates from the older colonies were pleased with the lands, but were fearful lest those in power should pursue the course of the rulers of New York and Virginia. They therefore informed the Governor of their willingness to remove to the vacated lands, on condition that proper guarantees should be given for the unrestricted exercise of all their civil and religious rights. Aware that a large number of persons, likely to become a superior class of settlers, were deterred from coming into the province by uncertainty respecting freedom of conscience, Governor Lawrence issued a second proclamation, by which full liberty of conscience and worship was secured to Protestants of all persuasions. In the course of a year after the issue of the latter proclamation, a large number of settlers, including some substantial farmers, came from New England and took possession of those lands, which during the five years subsequent to the exile of the Acadians, had enjoyed a sabbath. These were followed, from time to time, by other emigrants from the older colonies, and from Great Britain and Ireland.

To these early settlers from New England, who, true to the principles of their fathers, placed a higher value upon religious liberty than upon worldly wealth, let due honor be given. The religious freedom enjoyed by the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, at each succeeding period of their history—a freedom greater than that possessed by the people of some other British colonies—may be traced to the determination of these descendants of the Pilgrim fathers not to leave their

New England homes without satisfactory assurances that no abridgment of their religious privileges should be suffered in consequence of removal. To-day, when for the sake of wealth or social position, so many are ready to yield up, as if of little worth, principles for which their fathers, at no small cost, made a determined stand, special prominence should be given to the conduct of men who counted wealth or position to be of less value than the right to worship God as conscience should dictate.

In the year 1772, a party of emigrants from Yorkshire reached Nova Scotia. The Lieutenant Governor, Michael Franklin, had engaged a number of families from that part of England, to cross the ocean and settle in the county of Cumberland. The first detachment of these sailed from Liverpool on the 16th of March, 1772, and, after a detention of several days at Halifax, reached Fort Cumberland on the 21st of May. Another party arrived in the spring of 1773; and in the early part of 1774, several vessels, filled with emigrants, followed from the same quarter. Several other families from Yorkshire joined their friends at Cumberland in June, 1775.

From a political point of view, these settlers proved a great acquisition to the province. Coming directly from England, they brought with them an attachment to British institutions, which was of peculiar value in view of the state of American politics, and at a time when many, even in Nova Scotia, were quiet from fear, rather than from choice. Eagleson, the Episcopal missionary stationed at Cumberland, describes them to the Society by which he was employed, as 'a peaceable, industrious people, and lovers of the constitution under which they were born.' From a religious point of view, a higher

estimate of their value may be given. Among them came the first Methodists of the Lower Provinces. Yorkshire has from the beginning been one of the strongholds of English Methodism. In 1767, the earliest period at which a complete list of the numbers in the Methodist societies was published, one seventh of the circuits, and nearly one fourth of the membership of the United Kingdom, were in Yorkshire. Some of those, who, during the years stated, left that northern English county in quest of homes of their own in Nova Scotia, had listened, to the joy of their souls, to Wesley and his itinerants, and with prayers and tears had bidden a life-long farewell to brethren with whom they had taken sweet counsel, and to humble sanctuaries which had been to them nurseries in the new life.

Charles Dixon was one of these. His parents belonged to the Church of England. He went on a certain day to hear one of Wesley's preachers at Robin Hood's Bay, near Whitby. Eternity alone will reveal the results of Dixon's visit on that day to the humble itinerant. 'His preaching,' says the former, 'was such as I had never heard before. I was condemned by the law of God; my pretence to being a member of the Church fell to the ground.' Condemned by her Articles, by her Homilies, by broken baptismal vows, and convinced that he was 'in short, a baptized heathen,' he passed through a severe struggle. On the 21st of September, 1759, he obtained the longed-for peace; and became a member of the Methodist society at Hutton Rudby, where for twelve years previously to his removal to America, he carried on a paper manufactory. Mr. Dixon saw with regret the troubles which threatened his native land, and felt the difficulty of maintaining his family, and at the same time preserving a conscience void of offence toward God

and men ; but saw no means of escape from his position. When Lieut.-Governor Franklin published his proposals respecting emigration, Mr. Dixon recommended his neighbors to embrace an opportunity of which he could not avail himself. Two months, however, before the sailing of the 'Duke of York' from Liverpool for Halifax, with the first party of emigrants for Cumberland, a gentleman, whom he had not before seen, called at his house, and after making some inquiries relative to his business, and stating that he had heard of his wish to emigrate, offered to take his lease, stock and utensils, that he might not be delayed in his departure. After serious thought, and consultation with his wife, he resolved to accept the offer. A few weeks later, with his wife and four children, he was on the ocean. Contradictory statements made in Halifax, respecting the place of their destination, perplexed them, but they pushed on to Cumberland. The spring being late, they were unable to form a definite opinion respecting their new home, but after three weeks spent in the barracks at Fort Cumberland, Mr. Dixon purchased a tract of two thousand and five acres at Sackville, to which he and his family at once removed. Having enjoyed for many years the esteem of those who knew him, he died at Sackville in August, 1815, at the ripe age of eighty-five.

William Wells, Sr., was another of the Yorkshire Methodists. He built the Methodist Chapel at Thirsk. After preaching in it in April, 1766, Wesley penned in his journal a severe criticism upon the builder, who, in his efforts to improve on the model of the chapel at Yarm, had, in Wesley's opinion, made the second 'scarce equal to the first.' Margaret, the wife of William Wells, was a native of Sowerby, near Thirsk, and was converted

in youth. Wesley and John Nelson made their home at her father's house, when in that part of Yorkshire. She had spent some time under John Nelson's roof, and had heard both Wesley and Nelson preach at the Thirsk Cross, when they were pelted with stones, and rotten eggs, and such other offensive things as came to hand. Previously to their departure for America, Wesley had knelt in prayer with Mr. and Mrs. Wells, and with a hand on the head of each, had commended them to the Divine protection. William Wells led a class in his own house at Point de Bute, frequently conducted public services, and, when necessary, read the burial service in the absence of the minister. The power of his exhortations, and the fervency of his prayers, are well described by the first provincial itinerant, in his narrative of his own conversion. He died in peace in 1819.

William Trueman, Sr., with his wife and family, reached Nova Scotia in 1774, and settled at Prospect, now Point de Bute. The Trueman homestead was for many years the head-quarters of the Methodist ministers stationed in Cumberland. William Trueman, Jr., was married a year after his arrival, to Sarah Keillor. Their family of seven sons and three daughters, reached a good age, and furnished a fine specimen of a Christian household. Concerning it, an itinerant wrote in 1822: 'It consists of an old gentleman, his wife and ten children, eight of whom are married, making in all twenty souls. Of this number, only two are not members of society, and they live so far from the means that they cannot attend. Eighteen of the family, (and for anything that can be seen to the contrary, the whole of the family,) are doing well, both as to this world, and that which is to come.

[1] 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' 1833, p. 750.

Nearly all those who are in our society meet in one class, at the house of their parents, (who are just tottering into the grave, ripe for eternity,) and they have lately subscribed about one hundred and fifty pounds towards the building of a chapel in the neighborhood.' [2] All the members of this family, in time, connected themselves with the Methodist Church. Their descendants in 1875, numbered 523, of whom 357 were Methodists.

Among those who settled at Tantramar, were the brothers John and William Fawcett. One, who nearly a quarter of a century later, knew them well, and frequently shared their hospitality, describes them as 'two worthy old English farmers, staunch friends to the mission, who had brought their religion with them across the ocean.' The missionary, whose words have just been quoted, adds, 'At the house of William Fawcett I had many seasons of comfort and profit. They were truly godly people of the old English stamp; and with their two sons, and daughters-in-law, greatly held up my hands, and ministered to my wants.' At the house of John Fawcett, Marsden sometimes preached. [3]

John Newton and Thomas Scurr were among the more active Christian workers of that day in Cumberland. John Newton, a 'good old man' from Pradhow, near Newcastle, was regarded as 'the patriarch of the new settlements.' Through the prayer meetings established by him, some of the early settlers were led to Christ. Thomas Scurr was held in high esteem for his piety. William Black, when awakened, looked forward to a visit to him, with the expectation of much benefit from 'so holy a man.' In 1785, in opposition to Wesley's advice against going from 'a place where he was much

[2] 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' 1822, p. 600.

[3] Marsden's 'Narrative of a Mission," p. 47.

wanted, to a place where he was not wanted,' he removed to the Southern States, and purchased an estate near Norfolk, Virginia. He repented too late, for nearly all the members of his large family fell victims to diseases peculiar to southern climates. [4]

Worthy descendants still hold in high honor the names of William and Mary Chapman, who came to Nova Scotia in 1775; of George Oxley, in whose dwelling the first Methodist itinerant of the Lower Provinces found peace with God; of Donkin, an intimate friend of Wiliam Black; of Dobson, mentioned by Wesley in a letter in 1790; of John Weldon, who reached Cumberland in 1774; and of others, to whom belongs the honor of being the first Methodists of the Canadian Dominion.

The new home of the Yorkshire Methodists was not favorable to religious growth. The members of a small Baptist church at Swansea, Mass., had emigrated to Sackville in 1763, bringing with them their pastor, the Rev. Nathanael Mason. They remained at Sackville eight years; during which time, the number of members increased to sixty. The original emigrants then returned to their former home, and the Baptist church at Sackville ceased to exist. [5] The only minister in the county was the Rev. John Eagleson, who had been sent out in 1769, by the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,' to Cumberland, where he continued to labour for twenty years. 'One thing very commendable in the inhabitants,' says Charles Dixon, in reference to the religious state of the neighborhood at the time of his arrival, 'was not forsaking, but assembling themselves to worship God, though unhappily divided into parties, and ready to say, "Stand by, for I am holier than thou." Divisions among

[4] Richey's 'Memoir of Black,' p. 127.

[5] Cramp's 'History of the Baptists,' p. 521.

them had in great measure eaten up their Christianity, and their attachment to Calvinism had robbed them of their religious power.' Distance from the places of worship, and the want of proper roads, rendered attendance at religious services difficult; and the disturbed state of the country, in consequence of the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, made attendance, at times, dangerous. The religious and secular interests of Cumberland suffered severely from the sympathy of the New England settlers with their friends in the revolted colonies. Two of the former representatives for the county in the Provincial parliament were found to be in communication with the rebels. Through their influence, and by the aid of a number of disaffected persons in the county, an armed force from Machias besieged the garrison at Fort Cumberland, in November, 1776, disarmed all who were friendly to the government; forbade them to leave their farms, under penalty of imprisonment or death, and carried off Eagleson, the Episcopal missionary, to New England, where he was detained a prisoner for six months. It appears that, under these circumstances, the more social services of Methodism, which it has pleased the great Head of the Church so highly to bless, were for a time, partially neglected by these sheep in the wilderness.

Early in 1779, a revival of religious interest took place in the hearts of those who had felt the power of the Gospel in their former English homes. Meetings for prayer and exhortation were held more frequently; and earnest pleadings with God and man were followed by encouraging results. Among those who shared in these results, was a family, which, on account of the important relation of one of its members to the Methodism of the

Lower Provinces and Newfoundland, demands more than a passing notice. This was the family of William Black, Sr., formerly of Huddersfield, Yorkshire. Mr. Black, who had for some time thought of removal to America, judged it most prudent to see the country before taking his family thither. In May, 1774, he reached Halifax, purchased a farm in the neighborhood of the New England settlers at Amherst, returned in the Autumn, and in April of the following year, with his wife and family of four sons and one daughter, sailed from Hull for their new home. After detention at Halifax for a fortnight, they went on board another vessel and sailed for Cumberland. The death of Mrs. Black, a Christian wife and mother, about a year after their arrival in the province, in consequence of an injury received in going on board ship in Hull, and the lack of religious privileges in their new home, were so seriously felt, that when, in 1779, the Spirit of God began to work with power in the neighborhood, the family of William Black was found without hope, and without God in the world. 'Nothing but discord, jealousy and ill-will,' said one of the sons, 'was there. Peace had for some time left our dwelling, and we, hurried on by devilish passions, were urging fast to ruin.' In the course of several weeks, by a marvellous transformation, such as grace only can effect, nearly all the members of the household were found in the possession of peace with God.

One of the first members of the family to rejoice in the consciousness of pardon, was William, the second son, then in the nineteenth year of his age. When quite young, he had narrowly escaped death by drowning. The Holy Spirit had early striven with him. At the age of five he had 'serious impressions'. A year later these impressions became so powerful as to make him wish

that he were a toad, or a serpent, or 'anything' but what he was. When about thirteen, upon his return home after several years absence at school, his christian mother, herself consecrated to God at the early age of sixteen, besought him, with tears and prayers, to yield himself unto God. Concerning these efforts of his mother, he writes, 'They deeply affected me;' many times they sent me to my closet, and to my knees, when with tears I besought the Lord for mercy.' They did not, however, at that time lead him to Christ. The companionships of his new home, which were not of a fortunate character, led him to become, apparently, one of the most gay and thoughtless young men of the place. Whole nights were spent by him at the card table and in the dance. Yet he was not happy. Colonel Gardiner tells us that while he himself was on one occasion receiving the congratulations of his boon companions upon his success in sin, he looked at a dog, and inwardly groaned, 'Oh, that I were that dog.' In a state somewhat similar, William Black spent two or three years; his convictions of duty being sufficiently powerful to poison his sinful pleasures, but not powerful enough to lead him to forsake them; and his knowledge of God preventing entire neglect of prayer, while he scarcely dared to pray. During the revival which, in part preceded, and in part followed the meetings for prayer and exhortation, held in the spring of 1779, his conviction of sin became more deep. His elder brother John and himself entered into an agreement to break off their evil habits, and attend the meetings for prayer, and shook hands as a seal to the covenant. Good desires and determinations were, however, mistaken by him, as they have frequently been by others, for real religion. At a 'little meeting' at Mr. Oxley's, where John Newton

gave out a hymn, the scales so far fell from his eyes as to lead him, with several others, to cry aloud for mercy. From that meeting he went home with his brothers and sister, 'weary and heavy-laden.' Weeks passed, leaving him in that unhappy state. He wept, and fasted and prayed; often praying with others until midnight, sometimes until daylight; and listening to exhortations, which went 'like a dagger to the heart,' until at last Satan tempted him to put an end to his own life.

As he cried out of the depths, the hour of deliverance approached. One evening, at the close of a meeting at Fort Lawrence, at which, under a prayer offered by William Wells, the burden of guilt grew intolerable, John Newton sought to cheer him. 'No! no!' said the good old man, in reply to the despairing utterances of the youth, 'It will not be long before the Lord delivers thy soul. Sorrow may endure for a night, but joy shall come in the morning.' That very evening, while at Mr. Oxley's, he obtained the long sought peace. 'We continued singing and praying about two hours,' he tells us, 'when it pleased the Lord to reveal His suitableness, ability, and willingness to save me; so that I could cast my soul upon Him, with 'I am thine and Thou art mine; while our friends were singing—

> 'My pardon I claim,
> For a sinner I am,
> A sinner believing in Jesus's name.

I could then claim my interest in His blood, and lay fast hold of Him as the hope set before me, "the Lord my righteousness." Instantly my burden dropped off; my guilt was washed away; my condemnation was removed; a sweet peace and gladness were diffused abroad in my soul; my mourning was turned into joy, and my countenance, like Hannah's, told my deliverance; it was "no

more heavy." After returning public thanks, I went home praising God.'

Peace was followed by conflict. 'It is enough for the servant that he be as his Master.' The fiercest assaults of Satan upon Christ quickly followed that hour in which the opening heavens had borne solemn witness to His greatness, and the voice of God the Father, had declared His Sonship. The conflicts of the servant were severe; permitted in part, it may be, for the sake of those to whom in the future he should announce Christ as a Saviour from the power of sin. He was tempted to doubt the reality of his conversion, and to suppose that his emotional nature only had been influenced. A fresh manifestation of the love of God raised him above this doubt, and enabled him to cry 'My Lord and my God.' Then came temptation to doubt the existence of God, and with such power, that he did not wonder that St. Paul had written, 'Above all taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.' This fiery dart he quenched with the 'shield of faith.' It was then suggested that he could not be a Christian, or such a thought could never have entered his mind. With such suggestions, he sometimes attempted to reason to his own injury. They returned again and again, until he, one day, cried out. 'Lord, help me,' and, in a moment, the suggestion which had 'struck him like lightning from heaven,' vanished. Thus in the school of experience he learned the value of occasional tests of faith, and received a training which prepared him for ministering to 'souls distressed.'

Subsequent struggles convinced him that, instead of 'knowing war no more,' he was 'but entering upon the field of battle; yet while there was agitation on the surface, in the depths of the soul there was strong confi-

dence. 'My days,' he afterwards wrote respecting this period, 'did indeed glide swiftly away. I could eat my bread in singleness of heart, praising God. I went up to His house with gladness; and entered His courts with praise. His people were my dearest companions. My Sabbaths became the most delightful days in all the year. They were market days to my soul; I fed on marrow and fat things. Time, I saw, was exceedingly precious, and I desired to improve every moment. I could not bear that a single moment should pass without being filled up for God.'[5]

William Black's first efforts to do good to others were put forth in his father's house. On a Sabbath evening, rising from his bed, he knelt in prayer beside his brother Richard, who then obtained peace. The tidings of Richard's conversion, carried at midnight to the brothers John and Thomas, caused them to rise. Prayer was again offered, and as they rose from their knees, Thomas declared, 'God has blotted out my sins.' William then went to the father and step-mother, who were both seekers of salvation, to tell them what had taken place. Father and son then prayed together, and before the dawn of day, light from heaven shone into the father's soul. The next morning, the sister rejoiced in the possession of pardon. The results of that domestic prayer-meeting are not to be estimated by human modes of calculation. With great satisfaction, William Black, at a subsequent period, heard his father, when in conversation with a lady opposed to religion, triumphantly appeal to its effects upon his own family as a striking confirmation of its truth and utility; and allege that hundreds of pounds would be a small consideration compared with the good, of which, in a temporal sense alone, it had been product-

[5] Wesley's 'Journal,' April 15, 1782.

ive to him.[6] And when, forty years after that memorable night, the father and son parted, not to meet again on earth, the father bade the son 'farewell,' with the assurance that he was only waiting the coming of his Lord.[7]

The success which attended William Black's efforts to benefit his kinsmen, encouraged him to extend his labors beyond the circle of home. The fifteen months succeeding the period of his conversion were spent in practical training for a wider sphere of labor. Not yet of age, and therefore restricted in his movements by his relation to the household of which he was a member, he seized with eagerness such opportunities as were presented in the limited sphere in which he moved, both for reproof of sin, and instruction in righteousness. Threats of personal injury were called forth by a rebuke administered to a scoffer, who, two years later, sought pardon from Black, and implored him at the same time to pray on his behalf for divine forgiveness. At a quarterly meeting held at the house of William Trueman, at Prospect, in the summer of 1780, he received an abundant blessing. From that day he took a prominent part in all the religious gatherings of the neighborhood. Three zealous young brethren, Scurr, Wells, and Fawkender, agreed with him to visit in turn, each Sabbath, the settlements of Prospect, Fort Lawrence, and Amherst. In each place they saw cheering results. 'Hard names' were plentifully bestowed upon them, but in one instance only did hostility assume a practical form. On that occasion the officer in command at Fort Cumberland, in consequence of representations made to him by the Episcopal minister of the district, deemed it his duty to suppress the meetings; and for that purpose, sent a party of soldiers, who

[6] Richey's 'Memoir of Black,' p. 6-35.

[7] 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' 1822, p. 195.

made prisoners of more than twenty of the congregation, and carried them to the fort, where they were detained for two hours. The officer, who soon learned his mistake, was glad to dismiss his prisoners with 'soft words.'

An invitation from Tantramar, during the winter, widened the sphere of Black's labors. In the spring of 1781, he also visited the settlers on the Peticodiac river. During this visit, prompted by the lack of variety in his addresses, he first, with fear and trembling, made use of a text of Scripture. His efforts among a people whom he found lamentably ignorant of Gospel truth, were not powerless. Among others, Christian Steeves, a German, was awakened, and during a subsequent visit, converted. Between forty and fifty years after, one of Black's successors in the ministry preached at Christian Steeves, house, and found the good old man 'steadfast in the covenant of his God, and full of a hope blooming with immortality.'

During the summer of 1781, the Methodists of Cumberland were visited by Henry Alline. His energetic appeals were rendered a blessing to many. Previously to his departure, he proposed the abandonment of the Methodist discipline, and the foundation of a church upon the Congregational system. At that time two hundred persons were meeting in the Methodist classes, one hundred and thirty of whom professed faith in Christ. Alline's advice was rejected. Soon after his departure, Thomas Handley Chipman,one of his preachers, reached Amherst, solemnly charged by Alline to go thither, and keep none of his opinions back. Chipman followed his leader's advice to the letter. Expostulation having been used in vain, ten of the leading Methodists signed a letter in which they assured him that they could not continue to listen to such doctrines as had been advanc-

ed by him. He left Amherst, however, before the letter could be placed in his hands. His teachings caused some dissensions, but these were apparently healed in the course of a few weeks.

Towards the close of the year 1781, William Black attained his majority. Up to that period he had remained at home, making himself as useful as he could, consistently with his obligations to his father. Thenceforth free to act as he chose, but glad to have the approval of his parents, he consecrated himself to the work to which he believed himself called, and not hastily, but after a careful counting of the cost, went forth to sow the good seed of the word, and to gather sheaves in a larger harvest field. If, standing at the door of his, father's house, about to go forth as the first of an ever-widening succession of laborers, he could not say 'The world is my parish,' the field which lay before him was sufficiently large in extent to have discouraged men more accustomed to spiritual toil than he had been.

There are yet Provincials who underrate the place of their birth, and speak in tones of contempt of the slow growth of the Lower Provinces. A glance at the map of Nova Scotia, of which, in 1781, the present province of New Brunswick constituted a single county, tends to the cure of any afflicted with this unpatriotic disposition. A group of settlements lay about the present boundary line between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where the last outbreak against British rule, on the part of the Acadians, led on by the traitorous soldier-priest, La Loutre, had precipitated the infliction of the terrible banishment which Longfellow has so graphically described in his 'Evangeline.' The settlement of Amherst had been begun by several families from the North of Ireland, who were soon joined by New Englanders.

The latter had taken possession of lands in various parts of the county of Cumberland, and had found their way to the small Acadian and German settlements of Memramcook, (now known as Dorchester,) Hillsborough and Hopewell. They were followed by the emigrants from Yorkshire, who having come out to Cumberland to obtain lands by purchase, and not by grant, were confined to no certain district, but were scattered over various parts of that large county. New England families had also occupied the fertile lands of Falmouth, Windsor, Newport, Horton, Cornwallis, and the Annapolis valley, where they had found Acadian dykes and the ruins of Acadian dwellings. Attracted by the nearness of the position to good fishing grounds, others of their countrymen, chiefly from Cape Cod, Nantucket, and other districts of New England, where the inhabitants sought wealth from the seas, had removed to the southern coast, where amidst many discouragements, they had commenced the settlements of Liverpool, Barrington and Yarmouth. Alexander McNutt's day-dream of building a city to be called New Jerusalem, on the shore of the beautiful harbor of Port Razoir, where Shelburne stands, had led him to transport to the neighborhood a number of North of Ireland families, nearly all of whom settled near the island which still bears McNutt's name, at the mouth of the harbor. At Argyle, a few Scotch and Acadian families resided; a few New England families had fixed their abode at the Ragged Islands; others had settled at Port Medway, New Dublin and Chester; and Germans from Halifax had removed to Lunenburg. McNutt, by arrangement with the Government, had brought a large number of Irish settlers from Ireland, and from Pennsylvania, whom he had located at Truro and Londonderry. Other settlers

of various origin, had been conducted by him from Massachusetts to Onslow. Several families, from Pennsylvania and Maryland, had, in 1767, commenced the settlement of Pictou, where they were joined, six years later, by thirty families from Scotland. Disputes with the proprietors had caused several of the latter to remove to Truro, while others went to Halifax and Windsor. Those who remained at Pictou were soon after joined by a number of Highland families, who, sent out from Dumfrieshire to the Island of St. John, now Prince Edward Island, had remained, till dispirited they sought a home near their countrymen across the Straits of Northumberland. Huguenots and others from Switzerland had entered into the labors of former Acadian settlers at Tatamagouche and its vicinity. Several 'West country' fishermen had begun the settlement of Blandford, in St. Margaret's Bay; a few other fishermen had located themselves at Canso; some New Englanders had formed settlements of great promise on the Kennetcook and Cocmiguen rivers in Hants; a few families had removed to lands between Halifax and Windsor, while a few others resided as tenants on lands at Lawrencetown, owned by gentlemen in Halifax. Dartmouth, only divided from the capital by the harbor, had been almost deserted. The inhabitants of Sunbury county, by which name the greater part of the present province of New Brunswick was then known, had removed thither from the older colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and had settled on the rich intervales of Sheffield and Maugerville, or at the trading posts of St. Ann's, now Fredericton, and St. John. At Richibucto, Miramichi and Restigouche, a few European families carried on a valuable salmon fishery. Of all these places Halifax was the capital. The influence of the Revolutionary struggle, which had impeded the pro-

gress of the isolated settlements along the coasts, all of which had been constantly threatened, and some actually attacked by the armed vessels of the Americans, had increased the trade and importance of the capital. The population of the province in 1781, may be estimated at twelve thousands. In this estimate, about one hundred Acadian families who had emerged from their hiding places in the forests, or had returned from exile, and having taken the oath of allegiance to Britain, had been permitted to settle at the Memramcook and Peticodiac rivers, at St. Mary's Bay, and in districts near Annapolis and Halifax, are included. The Indians roaming through the forests, and along the shores of the province, exclusive of Cape Breton, numbered, according to the Indian mode of computation, three hundred 'fighting men' of the Micmac, and one hundred and forty of the Malicete tribes.

Prince Edward Island, known until 1779 as the Island of St. John, was under a separate government, of which Charlottetown was the seat. With reckless generosity, the British Government had, on one day in the year 1767, disposed of the whole island, a few inconsiderable tracts excepted, to a number of persons considered to have claims upon it on the ground of military or other services. The serious results of this unfortunate act are well known. A few English settlers had been brought out by the proprietors, but the larger part of the inhabitants were Scotch. These had formed settlements at Richmond Bay, Princetown, Cove-head, St. Peter's, Cavendish, Georgetown and Tracadie. Including the Acadians who had remained on the island, the number of Protestants and Catholics was, it is probable, pretty nearly equal.

The Island of Cape Breton was, at that time, a single

County of Nova Scotia. In strange contrast with their policy in the neighboring island, the British Government had steadily resisted the most importunate and repeated appeals for grants of land in Cape Breton. Yet, in addition to the settlers of French descent, and the Micmacs, with whom the island had always been a favorite spot, a number of settlers of English descent were to be found in Cape Breton. The population in 1774, including all classes, numbered 1241. Of these two thirds were Roman Catholics.

With the exception of the Acadians and Indians, the inhabitants of Nova Scotia were nearly all Protestants. The intrigues of the Romish priesthood had caused those disputes and contests between the Provincial Government and the descendants of the early French settlers, which had terminated in the summary expulsion of the latter from their native land. This fact was not soon forgotten by those who had to steel their hearts for the performance of a deed which it is easy to call 'cruel' to-day, but which, in consequence of the abuse of the power possessed by the traitorous French priests over their unfortunate people, was, in the view of the most humane of the outnumbered British settlers of that day, an act of cruel necessity, and absolute self-defence. For many years the British Government would allow no grants of provincial lands to be made to Roman Catholics. Under such circumstances, the inducements to Roman Catholics to seek a home in Nova Scotia were few.

The number of spiritual laborers among the thousands of Protestants, scattered over the province, was small. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had, from an early period of its history, sent out missionaries and teachers, for whose support the govern-

ment had made partial provision by grants of land. At this period, Dr. John Breynton labored under the direction of the Society at Halifax; Peter De la Roche at Lunenburg; John Eagleson at Fort Cumberland; and William Ellis at Windsor. Besides these, were Jacob Bailey at Cornwallis without appointment; Mather Byles, Jr., officiating minister to the troops at Halifax; and Joseph Bennet, who, worn down by toil and exposure while doing the work of a visiting missionary, was reported to the Society as 'disordered in body and mind' at Windsor.[8] Theophilus DesBrisay labored alone in the island of St. John.

Nearly all the settlers from New England were Congregationalists. From the settlement of that part of America by the Pilgrim fathers, Congregationalism had been the established form of religion in all the colonies, Rhode Island excepted. Churches were built, and ministers were supported, according to law. Having obtained satisfactory guarantees for freedom of worship, the settlers from the older colonies, upon their arrival at their new homes, formed a number of churches of the Congregational order. The Revolutionary war, now drawing to a close, had exerted a disastrous influence upon these churches. Sympathy with the revolted colonists had led many of the members of them back to their former homes. In some cases the pastors had accompanied them. Israel Cheever, between whom and the church at Liverpool, the pastoral relation was about to be dissolved; Aaron Bancroft, father of the well-known American historian of that name, at Yarmouth; Jonathan Scott at Chebogue; John Frost, at Argyle; Asahel Morse at Annapolis and Granville; and George

[8] Aikin's 'Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in Nova Scotia.'

Seccombe, previously in charge of the congregation worshipping in the 'Protestant Dissenting Meeting House,' afterwards known as St. Matthew's, at Halifax, were the only ministers of the body remaining in the province. Bancroft returned to Massachusetts in 1783. These men were ill-calculated to cope with the 'New-light' movement, which about this period began to spread like 'wild-fire.' Few of the Congregational churches survived the storm, and these, with one or two exceptions, maintained only a shattered position.

The Presbyterian ministers of Scotland were slow to follow their countrymen who sought homes in the new world. The earnest and eloquent appeals of James Macgregor to his brethren in Scotland at a later period, might be quoted in support of this statement. He himself did not begin his apostolic labours until several years after the period under review. At this time, however, James Murdoch from Ireland, was preaching at Windsor and Horton, and occasionally extending his labors to other parts of the province, while David Smith at Londonderry, and Daniel Cock at Truro, were diligently ministering to their own congregations, and, at intervals, to those in more destitute circumstances. Bruin Romcas Commingo has by some been called a Presbyterian. That he was a Presbyterian may be doubted. Called from his home at Chester, after fruitless application had been made at Philadelphia for a German pastor, he had been ordained in July, 1770, at the Protestant Dissenting Meeting House at Halifax, to the pastoral care of the Dutch Reformed church at Lunenburg, both Presbyterians and Congregationalists taking part in the ordination services. At the period under review, he was prosecuting his work at Lunenburg with 'great zeal and no little success.'

According to the Baptist historian, but one Baptist church then existed in the Province. This was not a Baptist church after the 'straitest sect.' It had admitted Congregationalists into its membership, and in the second year of its existence had adopted the open-communion principles of the English Baptists. This church, at Horton, was under the pastoral care of Nicholas Pearson.[9] Under the training of Henry Alline, John Payzant, Alline's brother-in-law, and Thomas Handley Chipman, were then beginning their ministerial career. The former became pastor of the Congregational church at Liverpool, where he died in April, 1834; the latter lived to be one of the 'gray-haired fathers' of the Baptist Church of the Lower Provinces.

At the close of 1781, the progress of the 'Newlight' movement was threatening to shake the churches of Nova Scotia to their very foundations. Henry Alline, the acknowledged leader of the 'Newlights,' was pursuing his vocation of stirring up the churches, with a zeal concerning which different opinions may be entertained by different parties. This man, who attracted a large share of attention during his lifetime, and who set in motion a wave of religious influence, the force of which is yet sensibly felt throughout the Lower Provinces, was born at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1748, and, at the age of twelve, was brought by his parents to Falmouth, Nova Scotia. At an early age he became the subject of very strong religious impressions. Fear of death and judgment constantly haunted him. During twenty years he lived a miserable life, under the terrors of the law and the lash of an accusing conscience. He had reached his twenty-seventh birthday before he obtained any light, or learned to hope in any degree in Christ. Through the

[9] Cramp's 'History of the Baptists.'

prayerful study of the Bible, and the reading of religious books, he then obtained more correct views respecting his own sinfulness, and the disposition of God to save the repenting sinner. When enabled, by divine help, to rest firmly upon the atonement of Jesus Christ, his joy, in the possession of pardon, became as great as his depression, under a sense of guilt, had previously been. 'Oh! the astonishing wonders of His grace,' he exclaimed, 'and the ocean of redeeming love. Millions and millions of praise to His name! And oh! the unspeakable wisdom and beauty of the glorious plan of life and salvation.' Soon after his conversion he went to Cornwallis to take passage for New England, to obtain, if possible, the education necessary to enable him to preach the Gospel. Unable to obtain a passage, he returned to Falmouth, and soon after commenced to address his neighbors and friends. For some time he confined his labours to the neighboring townships. Thence he extended his journeys throughout the province, visiting all the English-speaking settlements, and laboring with all his energies until August, 1783, when he sailed from Windsor for New England. He never returned, but finished his course with joy at Northampton, New Hampshire, on February 2nd, 1784, at the early age of thirty-six.

Alline has been severely denounced for the rude manner in which he broke in upon the settled congregations of that day. To those who have made themselves familiar with the early religious history of Nova Scotia, his disposition to disturb existing ecclesiastical relations, however reprehensible under ordinary circumstances, affords small cause for surprise. The statement which Wesley, in spite of his preposession for the Church of England, made to the Bishop of London respecting the ministers of the Episcopal Church sent to America, has

been quoted on a previous page. The bare statistics, which, in nearly all cases, convey the reports of the missionaries to the Society under the auspices of which they laboured, are suggestive of a lack of that knowledge which aims at leading men beyond the mere symbols of salvation to the Saviour Himself. Presbyterianism lacked that life and fervor which are now making it, in many districts of the province, second to none of the Churches in aggressive zeal. The presence of the Moderatism 'cold as Orion,' then in the ascendant in the Church of Scotland, cost the Presbyterian Church at an early period of her history in Nova Scotia, the loss of many families, who have since exerted a powerful influence in other evangelical branches of the church of Christ. The absence of religious life in the Congregational churches of New England, about this period, is a matter of history. The adoption by some of them of the half-way covenant, aptly called 'the outer court provision for an unregenerate Christianity,' had despoiled them of spiritual power; and the breaking down of the fence of discipline had encouraged looseness in practice. The churches of the Congregational order in Nova Scotia, being closely connected with those of New England, and wholly dependent upon them for pastors, partook too deeply of the influences prevalent at head-quarters. Social services were rarely held. An entry made in his journal on a Sabbath evening, in February, 1782, by one of the 'solid' men of Liverpool, prominent in the management of the 'Old Zion' Congregational church of that town, may be quoted. 'A religious meeting was held,' he writes, 'at my house in the evening; a large concourse of people, I believe nearly one hundred and fifty attended; which is till of late a very strange thing in this place, such a meeting having scarcely been known since the settlement of it, till since Mr. Alline was here.'

The disturbance of elements, connected in too many instances as icicles, and not fused by the warmth of love to a common Saviour, was not unnecessary. Few men could have accomplished the work better than Alline. To the one extreme of cold religious doctrine, he opposed the other extreme of 'feeling.' His religion was a religion of feeling. His writings glow with it. He assumed the rapture he had experienced at his entrance upon the new life to be a suitable test of his own religious life, and of that of others. In his public addresses he appealed to the feelings of his hearers. He dwelt upon the greatness and glory of Christ, His compassion, His humiliation, His bleeding love, His joy in saving sinners; or, mourning over the insensibility of those whom he addressed, sought to alarm them into feeling. His track lay out of the beaten path of that day. He enforced his teachings with affection and earnestness. It was evident that he 'profoundly felt what he diligently taught'. Through all his toils and hardships, he exhibited an elevated cheerfulness and joy. He was a good singer, and fervent in prayer. The early Newlight preachers, most of whom were converted under Alline's ministry, resembled their leader. Such men passing from settlement to settlement, as if impelled by a species of religious knight-errantry, could not fail to make an impression. Viewed in themselves, the results of their visits were in certain cases painful. Families were divided; neighbors became opposed to each other; pastors preached and published in vain endeavor to stem the tide, and failing, submitted to the inevitable; old church organizations were broken down, and new organizations set up in their places. Alline did not always discriminate. His genius fitted him to destroy rather than to build up. Sometimes he 'broke in' upon and scattered churches possessing

no small degree of spiritual life. To disturb the slumbers of the churches and arouse them to active effort, seemed to be his vocation. When he had performed his work, the Master called him home, and entrusted the work to others better fitted to build up His people in their 'most holy faith.' To human eyes, a longer period of labor must have been productive of injurious results. He closed his services in Nova Scotia, by kneeling down upon the wharf at Windsor, and offering a fervent prayer for his adopted land; after which he went on board the vessel that was to bear him away to New England, to die. 'It happened,' says a writer, to whose pen we are indebted for an excellent sketch of Alline's career, 'in Nova Scotia, as in New England. First, there was torpor. Then the shock of newly discovered truth. Then agitation and alarm. Then separation with dislike and heart-burnings. Then a rushing into extremes, on this side and on that. Then reconsideration. The whole resulting in the restored recognition of the vital elements of the Gospel, with a return to the decency and order of Gospel institutions. Henry Alline was employed by God in the production of the earlier processes; we have to do with the later.' [10]

It is well for the memory of Alline, and for the spiritual interests of the public, that the productions of his pen have become mere literary curiosities. While it is evident that his heart was sound, it is not equally evident that his head was clear. The Antinomian tendencies of some of his teachings rendered them exceedingly dangerous, and counteracted much of his usefulness. 'His religious tenets,' remarks the biographer of William Black, 'were fragments of different systems without coherence, and without any mutual

[10] Rev. J. Davis, in 'Memoirs of Harris Harding,' p. 48.

relation or dependence. With the strong assertion of man's freedom as a moral agent, he connected the doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints. He allegorised to such excess the plainest narratives and announcements of Scripture, that the obvious and unsophisticated import of the words of inspiration was often lost amidst the reveries of mysticism. He held the writings of William Law in high estimation; and associated some of the most extravagant views of that author, with others of a kindred nature, which appear to have been peculiar to himself. It is but justice to add,' says the same writer, 'that amidst all his extravagances of opinion, his eminent and uniform piety entitle him to be ranked with those mystics whom Dr. Haweis thus eulogises in his Church History: 'Among those called mystics, I am persuaded, some were found who loved God out of a pure heart fervently; and though they were ridiculed and reviled for proposing a disinterestedness of love without other motives, and as professing to feel in the enjoyment of the temper itself, an abundant reward, their holy and heavenly conversation will carry a stamp of religion upon it.'

No distinct organization now exists as the result of the work of Alline, and of those of his converts who went forth into the ministry as his colleagues. To them and to their followers was applied the appellation of 'New-lights, a term originally used to designate those persons, converted under the ministry of Whitfield in New England, who refused to connect themselves with the churches of the day, because of their admission to the privileges of church-membership, of those who gave no satisfactory evidence of conversion. Alline's followers were organized into communities having some resemblance to Congregationalist churches; but like Whitfield,

Alline paid little attention to the maintenance of discipline or order. None of these communities exist at the present day. Of those whose ties to the churches of that day were sundered, or who were awakened and led to Christ through Alline's ministry, some became the leading men of the early Methodist churches, but the larger number of the early Newlight preachers and their adherents gradually adopted the peculiar views of the close-communion Baptists, with whom Alline, despising to a large degree the forms of religion, and holding baptism by any mode in small esteem, could not have held fellowship.

While the Churches of Nova Scotia were in this state of ferment, William Black began in earnest his itinerant life. Special qualifications were rendered indispensable by the circumstances of the times. It is evident that these were possessed by Black in a high degree. Though a diligent student of the word of God, he was not, in the strictest sense of the term, a theologian; his mind was too practical in cast to permit him to be an adept at 'hair-splitting.' Of dry, technical theology, and of morality dissevered from the cross of Christ, the public had had too much. A reaction against such teaching had set in; and many were inwardly saying, 'Sir, we would see Jesus.' Concerning the disease and the great Physician, Black could speak from personal experience. A good common education enabled him to utter his message with freedom and with force, while the loving spirit in which he addressed his hearers won their hearts. He evinced less of feeling in his discourses than Alline, yet it is evident from a glance at his early records of itinerant toil that he placed a very high estimate upon his own peculiar feelings, and upon the manifestation of feeling

on the part of his audiences, during the delivery of his numerous addresses. These qualifications rendered his preaching highly attractive to that class of hearers who were in sympathy with Alline's warmth and earnestness, but not with his vagaries.

The earliest chapter in the history of any movement, religious or secular, is usually the history of a single individual. It is thus with the history of Methodism in the Lower Provinces, the early facts of which naturally group themselves around the labors of the one itinerant of the period. On the 10th of November, 1781, William Black left his home at Amherst, committing himself to the guidance of the Head of the Church. No human provision had been made for his wants; he had simply the promise, 'Thy bread shall be given thee, and thy water shall be sure." He first directed his steps to the Peticodiac river, preaching by the way to the English at Fort Lawrence, Sackville, and Dorchester, and to the Germans at Hillsborough. His consecration to the work of the ministry received at the outset marks of the divine approval. At the 'French village' he preached with unusual freedom and power. Entreated to remain, he consented to spend a part of the Sabbath with the people of the neighborhood. Under the morning sermon many were deeply affected. One 'sturdy servant of the devil' cried aloud for mercy. To avoid being heard, he had left the house, but having returned was unable to repress his feelings. In the evening, and on the following day, Black felt conscious of the divine presence at Hillsborough. Many were in deep distress. He perceived that the word had 'taken deep root in many minds.' At Dorchester, many 'were much affected, and wept most of the time.' At Sackville, 'Jesus was in the midst, both to wound and to comfort. Many poor sinners were

deeply convinced; some said their hearts were almost broken under a sense of their want of Christ;' while some 'others who came with heavy hearts, returned home greatly rejoicing.' After a profitable journey, during which 'in the course of eighteen days' he had preached twenty-four sermons, he reached Amherst.

On his return, Black found that the natural results of the teachings of Alline and his colleague were being developed. The commandments of God were regarded by some as 'scarecrows.' The effort to enforce them upon the conscience was looked upon as proof of ignorance of the gospel of Jesus. Some were prepared to maintain that no believer could make shipwreck of faith; and that not even the commission of the sin of 'falsehood or drunkenness,' could be charged against the believer. 'It is not strange,' as Black remarks, 'that many sucked in the poison as if it had been the marrow of the gospel.' For a period of six weeks, he confined his labors to Amherst, Fort Lawrence, Point de Bute, and Sackville, sorely grieved at the prospect of separation, which seemed inevitable; and with sorrow note in his journal that two of the leaders, and several of the leading members, including some who had loved him 'as the apple of their eye,' had been so far led away as to employ all their power in the maintenance of their peculiar opinions.

The next four weeks were more happily spent. Early in January, 1782, he set off with a friend to visit again the settlements between Amherst and the Peticodiac river. The greater part of the journey was accomplished on snow shoes. At the French village, 'a little straw for a bed, and two yards of a wrapper to cover them,' during one of the coldest nights of the winter, caused him and his fellow traveller to feel the cold severely. But the

consolations of the journey were rich. A person left in deep distress at Dorchester, was, two days later, 'set at liberty.' Upon their second call at Peticodiac village, they found another rejoicing over deliverance from the guilt of sin, obtained on the preceeding day. In the evening, while they prayed for another, 'God gave him the spirit of adoption.' These, and similar manifestations of the power of God, led the young evangelist to exclaim, 'O God! thou art my God for ever and ever!'

Six weeks later, after having visited the different settlements near Amherst, where preaching had been introduced, or societies formed, he returned to the Peticodiac river. Several who had been awakened during his previous visit he found walking in the light of life. The 'zeal and love' of the members of the little church at Hopewell gave him 'increased satisfaction.' After a perilous passage by sea to Cumberland, which tested his faith, he returned to Amherst on the 9th of April. The six weeks following were spent with the societies in Cumberland. They were weeks of mingled joy and sorrow. Other causes than those previously mentioned conspired to perplex Black's mind sorely. Persons suitable for leaders were few in number; a still smaller number were capable of conducting public services; and lack of public services, it has not seldom been found, leads to neglect of private means of grace. The result of religious strife was manifest. He had to mourn over individual instances of unfaithfulness, and still more over the decay of religious feeling in whole classes. Yet the aspect was happily varied. Many were the witnesses that 'he had not run in vain, neither labored in vain.' To these was now added Mary Gay, the daughter of Martin Gay, Esq., a deacon of the Congregational Church, who, at the commencement of hostilities in 1776, had removed from

Boston to Nova Scotia. Having experienced conversion under a sermon preached by Black, this young lady, in the face of strong opposition from a quarter which rendered opposition peculiarly painful, and with a decision which never vacillated, took up her position as a Christian. Two years later she became the wife of Black.

The inhabitants of Cumberland county were accustomed at that day to speak of Windsor, Newport, Falmouth, and other places adjacent, as the 'lower towns.' To the 'lower towns,' Black, believing himself prompted by a divine conviction, resolved in the spring of 1782, to carry the message entrusted to him. For this purpose he left Amherst for Windsor on the 22nd of May. His intended route is described by a 'chronicler' of that day, in a sketch of the province. 'On the south side of Chignecto Basin is the River Hebert, so called by the Acadians. It is navigable for boats to its head, twelve miles; and from thence by land 'tis twenty-four miles to Minas Basin, where a ferry is established to Windsor, distance thirty miles. This is the road travellers take in going from Halifax to Cumberland. 'Tis nineteen miles from River Hebert to Cumberland.' Black entered upon this journey 'deeply dejected.' A strong conviction of duty alone prevented him from turning back. The packet having sailed for Windsor before his arrival at Partridge Island, he was glad to embrace an opportunity which soon presented itself of proceeding by the way of Cornwallis. In this more circuitous route, he afterwards recognized his providential path. Gideon Sherman, Esq., of Cornwallis, cordially received and entertained him. The Baptists of that township, through their adoption of the practice of open communion, were prepared to give him a hearty Christian welcome, and to invite him, without any mental reservation, to occu-

py their pulpit on the Lord's-day. In compliance with their request, he preached in the morning, afternoon and evening. The impression produced in the afternoon by the declaration of Paul, 'I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified,' he sought in the evening to strengthen by the assurance of Paul's Master, Jesus, that 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' 'A spirit of tenderness,' his biographer tells us, 'pervaded the assembly; and the penitent and the pious mingled their tears of sorrow and of joy.' On the 30th of May he rode to Horton, where he was able to speak 'with freedom, fervency and power.' Many 'cried for mercy, while others shouted "Hosannahs" to the Son of David.' On the evening of June 3rd, he preached in the same place in the Baptist church. 'Many were enabled to rejoice, while others mourned.' On the following day he preached at Falmouth, where Alline's followers, not yet informed that the preacher had opposed Alline's peculiar tenets, and his design to set aside the Methodist discipline, greatly rejoiced at having 'that day' heard the 'very Gospel.'

At Windsor, where Black arrived on the 5th of June, he was welcomed by a few Methodists whom he formed into a class. The leader of these was John Smith, formerly of Yarm, in Yorkshire, who having arrived in 1773, with other immigrants from the North of England, had left the main body, and settled upon a farm which had been offered him in Newport. Wesley had preached in Yarm in August 1748. At the request of some gentlemen of that place, who 'would take no denial,' he added to the work of preaching three times, and travelling fifty miles on a certain day, a fourth sermon, in the

market place of that town, to 'a great multitude of people, gathered together at a few minutes warning.' It thenceforth became one of his regular preaching places, when in the county. After preaching there in 1757, he wrote in his journal: 'I find in all these parts a solid, serious people, quite simple of heart, strangers to various opinions, and seeking only the faith which worketh by love.' The Methodist chapel built at Yarm in 1764, he calls 'by far the most elegant in England.' Michael Smith had been one of the first in Yarm to open his house to Wesley, Nelson, Pawson, Manners and other itinerants who visited that part of Yorkshire. For this he suffered not a little persecution. John, his son, when about the age of nineteen, was convinced of his need of salvation, but afraid of having his name 'cast out as evil,' hesitated to make that surrender of self, which must precede the conscious possession of peace with God. After having continued for a year in a state of hesitation and doubt, he was one day, when walking alone, powerfully impressed by the appeal of Joshua, 'How long halt ye between two opinions?' The application of this question to his conscience by the Holy Spirit led him to immediate decision. Having obtained forgiveness he went on his way rejoicing, and never looked back. 'I was born,' he wrote with happy definiteness, as he approached the border land; 'I was born in Yarm, April 17, 1741, old style; and, blessed be God, I was born again February 3rd, 1761; and about three years after I experienced the sanctifying grace of God.' He had more than once acted as precentor for Wesley, when the latter had preached in the market place of his native town. In his later days, he was accustomed to tell, with an old man's pride, how on such occasions, Wesley, who had little patience with slow singing, would tap him on the shoulder,

and say, 'Faster, John.' As precentor, he had occupied a seat beside the preacher, in the pulpit of the church so much admired by Wesley. His wife, who had been brought up in the Church of England, was convinced of sin under a sermon by John Nelson, and assured of pardon under another by John Manners. The difficulty of maintaining an increasing family, led him to regard with favor the proposals for emigration to Nova Scotia, published about 1770, in Yorkshire. With his family, he embarked at Sunderland in May, 1773, and in August following took possession of his farm at Newport. Henry Alline visited them at their new home, but failed to weaken their strong attachment to Methodist doctrine and discipline. Nearly sixty years after his removal to Newport, cheered by the fact that in a part of the province where he had once stood alone, several Methodist churches had been erected, and numerous societies formed, into which all his children on earth, and many of his friends had been gathered, while his wife and three children waited 'across the river' to welcome him to the ranks of 'the shining ones,' he heard 'the keel upon the shore.' At the close of a Sabbath service in the sanctuary, built on ground which he had given for the purpose, a child heard him say as he lingered in the church with an old Christian friend, that he had probably attended service there for the last time. The child looked up with wonder at his remark, and at the calmness with which it was uttered. It proved to be the last time. On the 25th of October, 1829, he passed to the 'church of the first-born.' The presence at Windsor of a few friends in sympathy with his own religious opinions, led John Smith after a time to propose the establishment of meetings for prayer and the relation of Christian experience, to be held from house to house on the Sabbath.

Among those who opened their houses for this purpose, was Mrs. Henry Scott, of Newtown, in Yorkshire. Straitened circumstances and domestic bereavement had led her husband and herself to remove from Cumberland to Windsor. Trials had led to murmurings, with the usual result of the latter—loss of spiritual peace. The prosperity which followed their removal to Windsor, had led to the indulgence of pride, and to a consequent increase of the distance from the happy position they had once occupied. Mrs. Scott, however, assented to Mr. Smith's request to be allowed to hold meetings in her house, which stood upon the farm generally known as the 'Franklin farm.' From these meetings she reaped a rich blessing. Former impressions were revived and strengthened, until they led her again to Christ, with the cry 'If I perish, I perish.' Thenceforth her life became one of rare Christian excellence, and her home, a place to which ministers of the Gospel were heartily welcomed by her, until her removal to an eternal home in 1795.[11] In Mrs. Scott's house, on the evening of the 5th of June, Black preached the first Methodist sermon at Windsor, from 'Fight the good fight of faith,' with 'much liberty.' 'Many,' he writes, 'were in tears.' The next evening he preached at Newport. Some were profited, but to himself 'it was a dry time.' On Friday he preached at Mr. Chandler's, at Windsor. On the following Sabbath he preached twice in the same village, 'with peculiar pathos and earnestness.' 'Set these mourners at liberty,' he prayed, at the conclusion of his first Sabbath at Windsor. On Tuesday, June 11th, Black reached Halifax. On that, and the two succeeding days, he preached, he tells us, 'to a stupid set of people.' 'Few seemed to care for their souls. There was scarce the shadow of religion to be seen.'

[11] 'Arminian Magazine,' 1795, p. 494.

The statement respecting the moral and religious condition of that town, which Black, a few days after his arrival in Halifax, placed in his journal, was not the impatient conclusion of a disappointed preacher. Alline, who a few months earlier had visited Halifax for the purpose of publishing one of his books, remarks in his journal; 'Not seeing an opportunity to preach the Gospel, as I longed to do; and having no religious society, though I found two or three Christians there, made me almost ready to sink. Oh, how it grieved my soul when there appeared no desire nor room for the Gospel.' Black's statement is corroborated by others, in no way in connection or sympathy with himself. A resident of the town wrote, in 1760, to the Rev. Dr. Stiles of Boston: 'The business of one half the town is to sell rum; the other half to drink it. You may from this simple circumstance judge of our morals, and infer that we are not enthusiasts in religion.' The excitement of the Revolutionary war, and the naval and military importance of Halifax, had, during subsequent years, exerted an influence by no means calculated to improve the moral state of the town. 'Unhappily,' writes the author of the 'Memoirs of Sir Brenton Halliburton,' these days were eminently irreligious days. The laxity of sentiment, and the disregard to the doctrine and precepts of the Gospel were painfully manifest. Noble exceptions there were; bright spots amid the murky clouds; refreshing oases in the desert. But the testimony left on record by those whose opinion is worthy of trust, is unanimous that religion was treated with indifference by the many; with scorn by some and with reverence by but few. To cite none others, the first Bishop of the Diocese was so impressed with the fearful condition of the community, the general tone of society, and the debasing tendency of

the opinions prevailing, that he wrote a letter to some in high places, which is still extant, bewailing in no measured terms the terrible degeneracy of the day, and urging that some step should be taken to erect barriers against that impetuous torrent, which threatened to overwhelm religion and morality.' [12]

Black's fourth sermon, preached at the house of Mr. Wells, awakened opposition. 'Many mocked most of the time, and kept up such a continual noise,' that few could hear what the preacher attempted to say. A Sabbath at Windsor afforded a pleasing change. The house not being sufficiently large, the afternoon service was held in Mr. Chandler's orchard. In the evening the first love feast was held. 'God was with us,' writes Black. 'many wept, and others rejoiced.' During the week he returned to Halifax, and on Friday evening preached again at the house of Mr. Wells. Interruption of a blasphemous character during the service, emboldened some on the following evening to attempt further disturbance. Handfuls of flour, and powder crackers were thrown among the people, and the confusion increased by threats of the press-gang. The services of the Sabbath were of a more pleasing character. The 'decorous deportment, and serious attention' of the morning congregation, afforded a 'presage of better days;' while indications of good were perceptible in the company to which he preached in the afternoon at Fort Needham. On the evening of the following day, a number of persons filled three rooms, and others stood at the door of the house of Mr. H. Ferguson, while Black explained the nature, and enforced the necessity of Christian discipleship. Though some of the ruder sort had hooted at the preacher on his way to the place of preaching, the utmost decorum was

[12] Hill's 'Memoir of Sir Brenton Halliburton,' p. 62.

maintained throughout the service. The same order was preserved at a service held on Tuesday evening at the house of Mr. D. Ferguson, 'at which,' wrote Black, 'some seemed to have very serious impressions on their minds and were distressed at the thought of my going away.' At Windsor, on Wednesday evening, several trembled, wept and cried for mercy.' It was about this time that Mrs. Harris, a 'nursing mother' in the early Methodist church at Windsor, obtained forgiveness of sins.

The notoriety which Black had now acquired, led to the expression of a desire for a visit from him, from several parts of the province. The entreaties of several pious persons at Annapolis were peculiarly importunate, leading him to vary his intended route. After preaching at Horton, where the consolations of God's people were 'strong,' and the 'cries of the mourners who were convinced of sin, affecting;' and at Cornwallis on the Sabbath, to a congregation larger than he had seen in any part of the country, he started on the 1st of July for Annapolis, accompanied by some who had come thence to hear the word. On the following day he preached twice at Granville. 'Both,' he writes, 'were powerful times. At one of these services, held in a barn, Samuel Chesley, a youth of nineteen, the first English male child born in the township, and the son of one of those New England volunteers who had assisisted at the storming of Louisburg, listened with deep attention. Impressions were made at that time, it is believed, upon the mind of the youth, which, during a subsequent life of more than threescore and ten years, proved a blessing to himself, and to many with whom he was connected in private, as well as in public life. A few years later, when the first Methodist class was formed at Granville, Samuel Chesley and his wife became members of it. The religious

principle which controlled his private life, enabled him to be firm and conscientious as a magistrate. In his offiicial position he afforded a rare example of faithfulness to the laws of his country, and of proper regard to the true interests of any, who through personal error, or enmity on the part of others, found themselves placed in an unpleasant relation to those laws. His confidence in his God, at the close of a long life of more than ninety years, continued unshaken. 'It is all of mere mercy, Robert, unmerited mercy,' he remarked to one of his sons, a respected minister of the church of which his father had been for so many years a member, as he spoke to him of his probable departure, a short time before the voice was heard which called him home.

Black crossed to Annapolis on the 3rd, and on that day, for the first time, preached in that old town. The meeting on the next day was continued for four hours. Under a sermon preached on the 6th, one woman cried aloud in sore distress. A few thought it their duty, says Black, to spend the evening in prayer for her deliverance. They continued on their knees 'two hours and a-half,' when the 'Lord set her soul at liberty.' After preaching three times on the Sabbath with 'great freedom,' he left Annapolis on Monday on his homeward route, preaching on that day at Granville at six in the morning, at Wilmot at twelve, and at Bowen's at six in the evening. At a service held the next day at Magee's barn, the word was 'sharper than a two edged sword.' Many trembled, among whom was a man of notorious wickedness. At Cornwallis, the first watch-night service was held at Nathaniel Smith's. Joseph Johnson 'found this the time of deliverance.' A more impressive meeting Black had not attended since his conversion. During this first visit to the 'lower towns,' seven professed to find 'the pearl of great price.'

The interests of those societies, some of the members of which had been the first-fruits of his ministry, rendered Black's speedy return to Cumberland a matter of necessity. He reached Amherst on the 12th of July. A survey of the work of God in that, and the adjacent places, produced feelings of deep sorrow. Alline had reached Amherst a few days after Black's departure for Windsor, and had remained in Cumberland nearly a month. During that period he had persuaded nearly seventy members of the Methodist societies to withdraw from them. The classes were scattered, and a spirit of contention threatened the destruction of the work of God. 'Oh! Satan, a wicked man could not have answered thy purpose so well;' was the sorrowful comment which Black penned after he had time to survey the whole amount of the injury done. 'Surely,' he added, 'Mr. Alline stepped out of his way here. Better far that our pitiful "names" had been laid in the dust, than thus destroy the work of God by setting brethren to strive with each other.' Eleven days after his return, the most influential persons among those who had continued firm in their adherence to Methodist doctrine and discipline, met Black to consult about the course to be adopted under the circumstances. Arrangements were made for the re-organization of the classes, and the appointment of leaders in the room of those who had withdrawn. A month later, at a love feast held at Fort Lawrence, about fifty persons, ten of whom had for a brief space joined Alline's party, expressed their wish to remain in connection with the Methodist societies. With thirty members at Peticodiac, the membership in the Cumberland circuit was estimated at eighty. Many in perplexity stood aloof, and did not unite with either party.

After a fortnight spent at Amherst and the adjoining

settlements, Black turned his attention to the more distant parts of the circuit. At Sackville, the doctrines taught by Alline had been received with a lamentable readiness, but in the places beyond, they had made but little impression. When within a few miles from his father's house, on his return from the Peticodiac river, Dorchester, and other places visited, a letter from a friend at the Peticodiac was put into his hand. The intelligence that previous prejudices had been removed by his late visit, and that several had been awakened, who were in need of immediate instruction and encouragement, was accompanied by an urgent request that he would, with the least possible delay, return to the river. Resolving to defer his visit to the 'lower towns,' he retraced his steps without loss of time. The few days he was at liberty to spend at the river encouraged him to pursue with diligence the work the Master had given him to do. When returning at the close of a service from the head of the Peticodiac river, he met a man, who, accompanied by his wife and child, had paddled his canoe for twenty miles for the purpose of attending the service, but had arrived too late. 'Gracious Father, bless his soul; let not his labor be in vain;' the evangelist prayed, as he noted down the encouraging incident at the close of the day. Among those who were made partakers of the joy of pardoned sin, was Mrs. Steeves, an elderly woman, who, satisfied with the outward excellence of her moral character, and her strict attention to certain religious duties, and ignorant of the necessity of inward holiness, had opposed her sons, who had been previously awakened. Wringing her hands in deep distress, she had charged upon Black the ruin of her boys. Sore distress, arising from a sense of personal sinfulness, now took hold of her spirit. At a meeting of the society

at Peticodiac village, the Sun of Righteousness arose upon her, with healing in his wings, and turned her mourning into joy.

A second visit to the 'lower towns' followed. During this journey he preached once each day, in addition to his labors on the Sabbath. At Windsor, he preached on the 30th of September, from Deut. 32. 13. 'He made him to suck honey out of the rock;' a sermon unusually rich in gracious influences, which at the request of several friends, he consented to publish. This was the only sermon which he could ever be induced to give to the public through the press. At Horton, Cornwallis and Granville, 'good seasons' were enjoyed. 'Annapolis,' we are 'told,' remained a melancholy exception.' There, 'his clearest expositions of the nature of vital Christianity, and his most pungent appeals to the conscience, appeared to recoil as from hearts of marble.' In Halifax, whither he had gone in opposition to the earnestly expressed wishes of friends in the country, who feared his seizure by the press-gang, he was permitted to prosecute his work without interference; and was cheered by the intelligence that two persons who had been awakened during his previous visit, had been enabled to exercise that faith in Christ which brings assurance of salvation. These, with a few others, probably from the country, he formed into a little church. After a dangerous passage he reached Amherst on the 14th of November.

Black, at this period, began to feel deeply the necessity for more laborers in the settlements scattered over the extensive field into which he had entered. Having introduced himself to Wesley in the spring of 1781, by forwarding him a relation of his conversion, which Wesley published in his journal of 1782, he sent him another toward the close of that year, in which he earnestly re-

quested him to send out missionaries to Nova Scotia. Early in the following year he received a reply. 'Our next Conference,' wrote Wesley, will begin in July, and I have great hopes we shall then be able to send you assistance. One of our preachers informs me that he is willing to go to any part of Africa, or America. He does not regard danger nor toil; neither does he count his life dear unto himself, so that he may testify the gospel of the grace of God, and win sinners to Christ. But I cannot advise any person to go alone. Our Lord sent out his disciples two and two; and I do not despair of finding another young man as much devoted to God as he.'

CHAPTER V.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE LOYALISTS IN 1783, TO THE FIRST CONFERENCE IN 1786.

Arrival of American Loyalists. New York Methodists at Shelburne. Robert Barry. Black's work at Liverpool. His visit to Shelburne. Arrival of John Mann, Charles White, and Philip Marchinton. Black at Cumberland. Black's visit to Prince Edward Island. Benjamin Chappell. Methodism at Shelburne. 'Old Moses,' the colored preacher. Correspondence of Barry and Black with Wesley, respecting ministerial assistance. Black attends the First General Conference at Baltimore. Dr. Coke. Black's influence upon Coke. Garretson and Cromwell appointed to Nova Scotia. Sketch of Garretson. Coke's labors in behalf of the Mission.

As the spring of 1783 advanced, the necessity for additional laborers became much more pressing than Black himself could have anticipated .The influx, during the course of that year, of more than twenty thousand persons from a country demoralized by a civil war, in which neighbor had been arrayed against neighbor, and even brother against brother, rendered Nova Scotia a field for Christian labor, of rare interest to all persons capable of regarding large masses of men from a Christian stand-point.

The events of the 19th of October, 1781, virtually settled the question of American independence. On that day, at Yorktown, Virginia, Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army and artillery to Washington, the American Commander-in-chief. The joy of the Americans knew no bounds. The consternation of the friends of Britain, throughout the revolted colonies, was equally unbounded. The tidings which, received at Philadelphia at midnight, sent half-clad citizens into the streets to laugh, and then

to weep for very joy, sounded in the ears of the inhabitants of New York like the blast of a trumpet to wake the dead. The latter city had for five years been an asylum for large numbers who had been driven by the Whigs from their homes in the different colonies. The presence of these, and of thousands of British troops, of all varieties of uniform, had rendered New York, during the period of the 'occupation,' one of the busiest and gayest of cities. The breaking-up of this asylum soon followed the surrender of Cornwallis. The struggle had been long and severe; and the feelings of bitterness which had grown more intense as the war had approached its termination, had made it evident that the party who should prove to be the weaker, would have but little to expect in the way of mercy from the stronger. The Act passed by the British Parliament in 1782, authorizing the conclusion of a peace with the American colonies as independent states, and the consequent instructions to the British Commander-in-chief at New York, to promote peace on the basis of such recognition, were looked upon by the loyalists assembled in New York as certain forerunners of banishment. There still remained a faint gleam of hope that Oswald, the British agent in the negotiations for peace at Paris, might be able to obtain some favourable terms for them, but even this faint gleam was soon extinguished. Arrangements were at once made for removal; and before the forests had again changed the bright green of spring for the short brilliancy of autumn, thousands of men, women and children, after sorrowful farewells, had gone on board ship, and with the flag of Britain at the fore, had sailed away to seek new homes in the wildernesses of Nova Scotia. Late in the autumn, they were joined by several thousands more of loyalists and disbanded troops, whose privations

during the long and severe winter which followed, are still kept in memory at the firesides of many of their descendants.

The destination of these, it is now difficult to trace. A very large number went to that part of Nova Scotia, which in 1784, was formed into the Province of New Brunswick. Many of these remained at the mouth of the St. John river, where in May, 1783, they commenced the building of Parr Town, now St. John, with such vigor, that previously to October of that year more than five hundred framed houses had been erected. A large number became settlers in Kings and Westmoreland counties, while others proceeded up the river, where large grants of land were made to the officers and men of the disbanded regiments sent to the Province. In Nova Scotia proper, several new settlements were commenced by the exiles, and by the officers and men of several disbanded corps, while others were scattered among the previous inhabitants. The most important attempt at settlement was that made at the head of the harbor of Port Razoir. Thither, in the spring and autumn of 1783, not less than ten thousand loyalists and disbanded troops repaired, with the expectation of building a city which should outrival Halifax, and become in a short time the capital of the province. The story of the arrival of these thousands of exiles; of the hardships they endured; of the strifes they cherished; of the town they built; of the accidental hoisting of the colors with the Union down on the day when they gave to the town the name of Shelburne; of the failure of business, and sickness at heart which they experienced; of their dispersion over both continents, till but few remained to tell the stranger who might chance to pass that way, the history of the spot on which he stood, is one in which

fact is stranger than fiction. A number of loyalists, attracted by inducements held out by the colonial government, found their way to Prince Edward Island. Many of these settled at Bedeque. A still greater number, some of whom had previously been in Canada, removed to Cape Breton, and formed settlements at Sydney, and other places in that island.

A very large proportion of the loyalists were Episcopalians. With these came not less than twelve of the Episcopal clergy. Selfish reasons, which need not be specified, led the Whigs of the victorious colonies to bear with no small degree of patience the Toryism of their physicians, while nothing could induce them to permit the exercise of free speech on the part of those who had the care of souls. Stern necessity, therefore, led several Episcopal clergymen to turn their faces northward; while others were induced to seek a home in the British provinces, by the offers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which withdrew its support from all its agents remaining in the United States, and made provision for those who were willing to remove to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Methodism in New York, throughout the war of the Revolution, was represented by a single church, that in John street. Philip Embury, an Irish local preacher, moved by the expostulations of Barbara Heck, a country woman of his, had gathered a little company, composed chiefly of Irish emigrants, to whom he preached in his own house. The humble worshippers in Embury's home were one day surprised by the entrance of a British officer. He proved to be Captain Thomas Webb, who, while serving under Wolfe, had lost his right eye at Louisburg, and had been wounded in his right arm at Quebec. After having heard Wesley preach at Bristol,

he had become a decidedly religious man, and a member of a Methodist society. The effect with which, on a certain occasion, he had addressed a congregation at Bath, disappointed by the non-appearance of the circuit preacher, led Wesley to licence him to preach. No finer character appears in the the list of early Methodist laborers. Both in the old world, and in the new, he was indefatigable in his Masters's work. At Albany, where he held the position of barrack-master, he heard of Embury, and on his arrival at New York sought him out. The fears of Embury, and the simple-minded worshippers who listened to him, were soon dispelled by Webb's assurance that he was one with them in profession and purpose. His preaching soon attracted a larger number of listeners, while his position gave influence to the infant cause. A rigging loft was hired, and a year later a lease was taken for a lot for the erection of a church. The builders of this humble sanctuary met with special favor from persons of influence and position. The first names in New York appeared on the subscription list. Among others was that of Charles Inglis, then one of the assistant ministers of Trinity Church, and afterwards the first Episcopal Bishop in Nova Scotia.

The membership of this church at the commencement of the war exceeded two hundred. They were generally regarded as loyalists, and in consequence were treated by the British authorities, during the period of the occupation, with special favor. The two Dutch churches were used for prisons, one of them for a time as a riding school for the British cavalry; the Quaker meeting-house was converted into a hospital; and the Baptist church was turned into a stable; while the Methodist church was carefully reserved for purposes of worship. On the Sabbath morning, the Hessian chaplain minister-

ed in it to the Hessian troops, but in the evening, the Methodists were permitted to use it for their own services, which were attended by large congregations. At the close of the war, but sixty of the persons who had previously constituted the membership answered to their names.[1] Influences unfavorable to the Gospel may have turned some aside. The fortunes of war, there is little reason for doubt, sent the greater number of the members forth as exiles.

Whither all these wanderers directed their steps cannot now be known. Several found their way to St. John, N.B. An early itinerant in Canada, when visiting Montreal in 1802, found a few of them, who cordially received him, and assisted him in procuring a school-room in which to preach.[2] Fifteen or twenty of them were also among the thousands of exiles who arrived at Shelburne during 1783.

Among those who reached Shelburne with the earlier fleet, was one, whose connection with Methodism on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, and indirectly with Methodism throughout the Lower Provinces, renders his name worthy of being held in long and respectful remembrance. Robert Barry was often heard to say that he did not know whether to call himself an Englishman or a Scotchman. His father was an Englishman, residing at Portsmouth; his mother was a Scotch woman. He himself was born at Kinross, on the banks of Loch Leven. Some officers of the navy, who frequented his father's shop at Portsmouth, were pleased with the son, and invited him on board a man-of-war about to leave the harbor on a short cruise. While off the coast, orders were forwarded for her immediate departure for

[1] 'Lost Chapters,' p. 271.

[2] 'Case and his Contemporaries,' vol. I, p. 122.

America, where the dissatisfaction which led to the Revolutionary war, had commenced to manifest itself. The young man crossed the ocean, but was not favorably impressed with life on board His Majesty's ship. Fearing detention upon his arrival, he planned an escape, which he successfully executed. With no friends, he wandered for several days through Maiden Lane, at that time the Broadway of New York, before he could obtain a situation. With carefully-saved earnings, he became managing partner in a small concern, and during the occupation continued to prosper. In the meantime, Christian friends had thrown around the young man powerful influences, which, through the blessing of God, not only saved him from the special dangers of the day, but led him into communion with Christ, and connection with His church. Thus blessed, he 'went and did likewise.' Israel Disosway, who, with his family, is favorably known to the Methodists of New York, gratefully acknowledged the interest which Robert Barry had taken in him, when a youth and a stranger he had entered that city. Mr. Barry had not felt himself called upon to join in the armed resistance to Britain, and consequently, when the friends of Britain proved the losers in the game of war, it became evident from the temper of the victorious colonists, that there remained no alternative but exile from his adopted country. Severing the ties which bound him to the home of his adoption, to friends in the church, and to friends in business circles, he went on board a vessel carrying the flag of Britain, and sailed with the first fleet which left New York for the harbor of Port Razoir. There were individuals—to their disgrace, be it said—who came to Nova Scotia at that period as loyalists; took all that could be obtained from Britain by way of direct compensation for their losses; drew the

rations, which for three years were supplied by the government; and then at the earliest possible period went back to the country whence they had been driven out, to throw the weight of their influence, and that of their families, into the scale against Britain. With men of this class, Robert Barry had little sympathy. Neither the solicitations of numerous friends in the United States, nor the failure of business in Shelburne, could ever induce him to return, as a resident, to the country he had been forced to leave. In the possession of a high degree of public respect, well deserved and freely accorded, he passed away in September, 1843, at Liverpool, at the ripe age of eighty-three, to the 'city which hath foundations.' His name will occur on subsequent pages.

After having spent nearly two months in the spring of 1783, with the little societies at Halifax, Windsor, and various parts of the Annapolis valley, Black sailed for Lahave. Having remained there five days, during which he preached ten sermons, he sailed for Liverpool to obtain a passage for Halifax. The Master had work for him to do at Liverpool that he knew not of. At seven in the evening of the 28th of May, three hours after his arrival, he began his work in that place, which he always re-visited with deep satisfaction, by preaching to about three hundred persons. The services of the week proved a good preparation for those of the Sabbath. On the afternoon of that day he preached in the Congregational church, and in the evening conducted a service in a private house. On Monday, at the meeting on the east side of the river, 'the power of the Lord was eminently present.' A number were crying with anguish of soul, while others were shouting for joy. The prayer-meeting, held at Mr. Dean's, on the evening of that day, was continued until one o'clock. Detention on Tuesday, gave

opportunity for further services. At the closing meeting at the Falls, a gentleman from Connecticut, who had arrived a few days previously on business, was seized with deep conviction of sin. Soon after, he obtained assurance of pardon, and during his short subsequent life, adorned the doctrine of God his Saviour. Eighteen months later, he was drowned while attempting to enter the harbor of Liverpool in a storm.

On Friday, the 6th of June, 1783, William Black, the representative of Yorkshire Methodism, and Robert Barry, the leader of the little band of 'banished ones,' who had reached Shelburne in May, met for the first time at that place. Black was accompanied by Captain Ephraim Dean, of Liverpool. 'This early visit,' wrote Barry, 'was not unwelcome, though unexpected, and finding us unprepared to accommodate our kind friends as we could have wished.' It must be remembered that when the first fleet had dropped anchor in the harbor a month earlier, the 'forest primeval' reached the water's edge. Echoes that had slept since creation, were about to be awakened by the stroke of the woodman's axe. As the passengers were surveying the shore from the deck, it is said that a military officer, about leaving for England, who, with no less prudence than generosity, had presented his horses to the lady of one of the loyalist captains, stepped towards her, and archly inquired in what direction Madame would drive. The first effort, after the selection of the site had been agreed upon by the surveyors, was to clear a spot in each division, on which the military tents, furnished by the government, might be pitched. Near one of these tents, William Black found Robert Barry, who extended to his visitors such hospitality as he could; and placed at their disposal his tent and his bed, while he himself sat

up outside during a whole night of 'profusely' wet weather. [3]

On the morning of the following Sabbath, to a congregation gathered in front of Robert Barry's lot, and from a table placed among the stumps, William Black preached the first sermon at Shelburne. The morning service was followed by others, in the afternoon and evening, all of which were marked by strict order and decorum. An attempt to hold a service on the afternoon of Monday, was attended with serious disturbance. A Commissariat officer, who had dined with some friends, and had tarried too long at the wine, declared the preacher to be an impostor, and threatened with oaths to knock him down. After a short absence, he returned with two others, determined to accomplish his purpose. This he was prevented from doing by the congregation, who crowded around the table on which the preacher stood. One of the three, swearing that he could preach as well as the preacher, then mounted the stump of a tree, and poured forth a flood of oaths. A few well-aimed words from the preacher, made an impression upon the blasphemer, who, hardening his heart to utter a few more oaths, walked off with his companions, and left the preacher to finish his discourse. A large stone was thrown with great force from the outskirts of the congregation, during the sermon, but Black eluded it, and escaped serious injury. This opposition served to attract attention, and some who came to listen in consequence, gave indications of concern respecting their personal salvation.

Towards the close of the week, Black returned to Liverpool, to complete his visit there. 'The few days he remained,' says his biographer, 'were full of labor and full of consolation.' Many were awakened to serious

[3] MS. of Robert Barry.

concern for their souls, and a goodly number found peace with God.' The single incident of an unpleasant character arose from an interview with Mr. Cheever, the late pastor of the Congregational Church, who rudely accosted him on his return from a service he had conducted in that church, and charged him with preaching doctrines calculated to send his hearers to hell. There is reason to believe that Mr. Cheever soon after regretted the course he had pursued.

The task of strengthening his brethren at Shelburne, devolved upon Robert Barry. In a room in his log-house, used by him as a school room, he met a class, and on Sundays, read to them and to any others willing to listen, a sermon by Wesley, or some other evangelical preacher. In the autumn, Barry and his friends were cheered by the arrival of several others, two of whom they had known as prominent workers in their former home. These were John Mann and Charles White. The former was a local preacher; both had been trustees of the church in New York, until the close of the war. Mr. Barry, to whom their arrival gave special satisfaction, immediately placed a part of his small dwelling at the disposal of John Mann and his family.

John Mann was a native of the city of New York. After years of waywardness and sin, he was awakened to a sense of his danger, and though the influeuce of his mother, was admitted into the Lutheran Church of which she was a member. Failing to find in the services of that church the satisfaction which he found under the preaching of Captain Webb, he attached himself to the Methodists, and while listening to one of the first sermons preached after his arrival, by Richard Boardman, one of Wesley's first missionaries to America, obtained an assurance of the forgiveness of sins. He was appointed in suc-

cession, to the offices of leader, trustee, exhorter and local preacher. Soon after the commencement of the war, all Wesley's English preachers, Francis Asbury excepted, returned to England; the native ministry, in consequence of their connection with Wesley, were looked upon with suspicion by the Whigs; and many of the infant churches, formed by the Methodist itinerants, were left with none to watch over them. At the request of the other members of the Board of Trustees, John Mann took charge of the church in New York, until the capture of Philadelphia by the British, enabled one of the itinerant preachers to reach the former city. His allegiance to Britain obliged him to leave New York at the return of peace. With two other trustees, Charles White and Philip Marchinton, he took his farewell in the autumn, and in company with the former of the two, sailed for Shelburne.[4]

Charles White was an Irishman. On his arrival at New York in 1766, he found few in sympathy with his religious views. He, nevertheless, stood up boldly for the truth, as it had been taught him in his native land. He had worshipped with the earlier Methodists of the city in the rigging loft; his name had stood first on the subscription list for their church; and on the lease of ground for the building he had been named one of the trustees. During the war he had acted as class-leader and treasurer of trustees. In September, 1783, the issue of the war compelled him to leave the church he had helped to build, and the members with whom he had worshipped. A few days after he took his leave, a meeting was called by the remaining officials to elect trustees 'in the place

[4] 'Methodist Magazine,' 1818. Wakeley's 'Lost Chapters.'

of Charles White and John Mann, removed to Nova Scotia.'[5]

Philip Marchinton sought a home in another part of the province. After losing a large property in Philadelphia, through the war, he had gone to New York, where he continued to reside until the close of the struggle. In November, 1773, he sailed with his family, in his own vessel, for Halifax; but a heavy gale, which found them at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, obliged the captain to bear away for the Bermuda islands, which he reached twenty-seven days after his departure from New York. Marchinton spent the winter at St. George's, and reached Halifax during the following spring. For a time, he rendered the small society in the capital very material assistance.[6] Augustus Welsford, Major of the 97th Regiment, who, beloved by his brother officers, and revered by his men, served with distinction in the Crimea, and fell at the storming of the Redan on the 8th of September, 1855, was a grand-son of Philip Marchinton.

Black, on returning from Liverpool to Halifax, preached two or three sermons in that town, after which he visited Windsor. He had some 'comfortable times' during his visit of several days, but found that a 'difference' between two of the 'friends' had done much harm. After spending a few days at Cumberland, he visited the people at the Peticodiac river. 'These are,' he writes, 'a simple, loving people indeed, happy in God. I preached ten or eleven times among them, and then returned to Cumberland.' After riding two or three times around the Cumberland circuit, he returned to the lower towns. At Horton, he had the privilege of leading to Christ a

[5] 'Lost Chapters.'

[6] 'British North American Magazine,' 1841, p. 296.

Mrs. Card, an opposer of religion, who, on a sick-bed, had become terribly agitated by the fear of death. In September he returned to Cumberland. With sorrow he observed throughout the circuit, but at Sackville in particular, a general declension.

During the autumn, Black crossed the Straits of Northumberland, and spent a fortnight at Prince Edward Island. Alline, who had visited the island in the summer of 1782, had reported the people as 'very dark,' and in many quarters openly profane. In all the places visited, he had found but 'three Christians,' and had preached at St. Peter's only, with any degree of encouragement. One of the 'three' to whom he referred, was a resident of Charlottetown. This, without doubt, was Benjamin Chappell, the only Methodist on the island, in answer to whose earnest and repeated requests, Black now made his way thither.

Benjamin Chappell was a native of London. His parents were worthy members of the Church of England. He himself was converted under the preaching of Wesley at the Foundry. Wesley, while at Inverness in 1780, made an entry in his journal, indicative of the regard entertained by him for his son in the Gospel. 'Benjamin and William Chappell, who had been here three months, were waiting,' he writes, 'for a vessel to return to London. They had met a few people every night to sing and pray together, and their behavior, suitable to their profession, had removed much prejudice.' To the end of his life, Wesley honored Chappell with his friendship, the continuance of which he proved by occasional letters. In his later days, the latter was wont, with great apparent delight, to repeat incidents arising from his intimate acquaintance with Wesley. In the year 1775, Benjamin Chappell and his wife took passage in a ship bound for

Quebec. The ship, on board of which were two hundred and fifty souls, was wrecked on the north coast of the Island of St. John, the passengers escaping only with their lives. A rock known as 'Chappell's chair,' is still pointed out in Malpeque as the spot where, when the passengers and crew had reached the shore in safety, Benjamin Chappell conducted a service of thanksgiving; and where, on revisiting the place of peril, in succeeding years, he stood to address eager listeners on themes suggested by the recollection of the dangers and the deliverance of that memorable day. Mr. Chappell's acquaintance with his father's business as master-machinist, procured him employment as superintendent of the government works, then in course of construction at Charlottetown. The island thus became his home. In 1779 he was elected a member of the House of Assembly. After having been engaged in several departments of the public service, he was appointed in 1801, Postmaster of the Colony. From the moment of his arrival at the island, he was deeply impressed with the spiritual destitution of the inhabitants, and at once commenced to hold meetings, which were continued by him for many years. An aged man, who in his youthful days, was permitted to apply to Mr. Chappell's piety the test of a nine years' residence beneath his roof, writes of him with trembling hand "as 'a truly pious man.' 'They both appear to be ripening fast for glory,' wrote John Hick, of him and his wife, in 1816. 'I will assure you,' he adds, 'that I frequently get my soul blessed while in conversation with them, and in hearing them tell of the wonders of redeeming love, in the conversion of sinners in the early days of Methodism. [7] Dr. Richey, who visited him in 1823, when 'bending over the tomb, under the

[7] 'Methodist Magazine,' 1816, p. 949.

accumulated infirmities of extreme old age,' speaks of him as 'remarkably clear and collected in mind; ready, after a life of irreproachable godliness, to be offered up; and awaiting, not only without fear, but in joyful anticipation, the time of his departure from earth.' The time of departure came on the 16th of January, 1825. William Burt was privileged to stand near him on that day. 'In his last moments,' wrote Burt in his journal, 'he expressed the strongest confidence in Christ, and in his hope of heaven; and when he had done this, he lifted his dying voice and began to sing,

"O Love, how cheering is thy ray!
All pain before thy presence flies;"

and then fell asleep in Jesus.'

The fortnight spent by Black at the island, was not marked by satisfactory results. He preached several times at Charlottetown, and at St. Peters, but with no visible tokens of success; and returned to the mainland, sick at heart over the ignorance which every-where seemed to prevail. The winter of 1783-4, was spent by him at Cumberland.

Early in April, 1784, Black left his winter quarters for Windsor, where he devoted a few days to the interests of the little society. From Halifax, he sailed for Shelburne, arriving there about the middle of the month. Lack of success in business on the part of Charles White, had led him to place a room in a large building erected by him after his arrival, at the disposal of the Methodists, for public services. In this room the Methodists, who were still accustomed to pay a certain deference to the services of the Episcopal Church, granted the Rector permission to conduct Episcopal services on Sabbath mornings and afternoons, until the opening of his temporary church in January, 1785, while they

held their own services in the early morning, and in the evenings. These services were conducted by John Mann. Black was much pleased with a visit to Burchtown, a negro settlement at six miles distance from Shelburne. The preaching of three sermons, and the meeting of two classes, on the Sabbath, did not prevent him from addressing two hundred of the negroes in their own settlement, on the following day. 'Some of them,' he remarks 'were deeply affected, and others greatly comforted.' 'It is indeed wonderful,' he adds, 'to see what a blessed work the Lord has been carrying on among these poor creatures. Within seven or eight months past, sixty of them profess to have found peace with God. And what is farther remarkable, is, that the principal instrument God has employed in this work, is a poor negro who can neither walk, nor stand. He is usually carried by another man to the place of worship, where he sits and speaks to the people, or kneels and prays with them.' 'Old Moses,' the colored preacher to whom Black refers, did not confine his labors to Burchtown. He was held in high esteem, not only by the people of color, but by many of the whites also. The shoulders of good George Jolly, a highly respectable colored member of the Methodist church in Shelburne, who died in that place in 1861, are said to have frequently borne 'Old Moses' on his evangelical tours. He seemed to be endowed with a marvellous gift of language. One of the elect women of early Methodism in Shelburne, received her first serious impressions while listening to an address from this crippled negro. He is supposed to have accompanied his countrymen in 1791, to Sierra Leone. At this time the membership at Shelburne and Burchtown exceeded two hundred, of whom only twenty were whites. At Burchtown, there were fourteen classes in a prosperous state.

Wesley took a deep interest in the settlement at Burchtown. Shortly after its establishment, he wrote to Robert Barry, 'When we send a preacher or two to Nova Scotia, we will send some books to be distributed among them; they need never want books while I live. It will be well to give them all the assistance you can in any possible way.'

Several days at Liverpool, marked by seasons of rare religious interest, sent Black on his way rejoicing. An entry in his journal, on his return to the lower towns, furnishes a specimen of the hardships sometimes endured by the early itinerants of our own country. 'Having arrived at Halifax early on Saturday, May 8th,' he says, 'I set off from Windsor on foot, and walked forty miles that day, but the skin was so blistered under my feet, that with difficulty I reached Carles'. The next morning I reached Windsor, and preached twice.' After having visited Annapolis, Cornwallis, and Horton, Black returned to Cumberland. He saw little on his arrival at that circuit to encourage, and labored there nearly four months with few tokens of success.

The subject of a proper ministerial supply for the Lower Provinces, assumed each day an aspect of greater importance. It had become evident that no man could efficiently watch over societies, scattered over so wide a field, and at the same time extend his labors to new settlements, where the preaching of the truth as it is in Jesus was seldom heard. Robert Barry, early in 1784, opened a correspondence with Wesley, which continued to the close of the life of the latter; and urged him, if possible, to send a suitable person to assist Black. Wesley, acquainted with Barry's brother Alexander, at Portsmouth, forwarded a prompt reply. 'We purpose,' he wrote, 'to consider fully at the Conference, what we

can do to help our brethren abroad, not only those that are settled in the southern provinces of America, but those that are in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Indeed it is an invariable rule with me, not to require any one to go out to America; nay, I scruple even to advise them to it: I shall only propose it at the Conference, and then, of those who freely offer themselves, we shall select such as we believe most likely to adorn the Gospel." To Black, in October, 1784, Wesley wrote, 'If I am rightly informed they'—the preachers in the United States—'have already sent you one or two; and they may afford you one or two more, if it please God to give a prosperous voyage to Dr. Coke and his fellow-laborers.'

Nothing had been heard in Nova Scotia of the 'one or two,' supposed by Wesley to have come to Black's assistance. About the middle of September, a month previously to the date of Wesley's letter, Black had left home for the United States, hoping to be able by personal representations and pleadings, to induce some zealous brethren to come over and help him. As he journeyed he remembered the words of the Lord Jesus, 'As ye go, preach,' and several souls were given him as seals to his ministry. At Addington, in Maryland, he met Richard Whatcoat, who had just arrived from England with Dr. Coke, and on the 14th of December he met Dr. Coke himself. Several days later, the sessions of the first General Conference, popularly known as the 'Christmas Conference,' were commenced at Baltimore. Freeborn Garrettson, an energetic young preacher, already coming into note among his itinerant brethren, had been 'sent off like an arrow,' to summon the ministers. After travelling twelve hundred miles in six weeks, preaching as he went, he returned to find sixty of his brethren assembled at Baltimore. Black looked upon these men

with admiration. 'Perhaps,' he wrote, 'such a number of godly men never before met in Maryland; perhaps not on the continent of America. Presiding over their deliberations, was a small man, of gigantic soul, a 'chieftain' in British Methodism, 'only second to Wesley himself.'

At an early age, Thomas Coke, the only son of the chief magistrate of Brecon, in Wales, a lad 'low in stature, but beautiful in aspect, and vivid in temper,' had chosen the church as a profession. At Oxford, young Coke had not wholly escaped the influence of the infidelity, at that time so prevalent at the University. Happily he was not long held in the toils of unbelief. Yet, though rescued from certain forms of doubt which for a time hampered him, he remained a stranger to the personal, saving power of the Gospel. Thus ignorant, but not unwilling to be taught, he entered the ministry of the Established Church, as the Curate of the parish of South Petherton, in Somersetshire. A short time only elapsed before he began to see and feel that in purpose, and in motive, he fell far below the Christian standard. Conversation with Thomas Maxfield, one of Wesley's earliest itinerants, and the reading of some of the evangelical publications of the day, are said to have been the means of leading him to see first himself, and then his Saviour. The change wrought within soon became evident to all associated with him; and the ardor of soul with which he prosecuted every effort for the promotion of the eternal interests of his people, soon raised against him a heavy storm of opposition. New strength was given to his principles, and an additional impulse imparted to his zeal, by the perusal of the writings of Wesley and Fletcher, and by an interview with them at a Conference he attended. On his return from that Conference, he

began to visit his parishioners from house to house, gave lectures in dwellings, and evinced such earnestness in the pulpit, that the accommodation afforded by the church proved insufficient, and the erection of a gallery became necessary. The proper parties refused to erect the gallery, and he built it at his own expense. In the meantime, the hostility towards him, on the part of the more wealthy of his parishioners, increased to such a degree, that the Rector dismissed him from his curacy, and in a manner so summary, as to prevent the delivery of a farewell sermon in the church. Coke, therefore, took leave of the people by an address delivered in the open air. He then offered his services to Wesley. 'I went forward to Taunton' says Wesley, in his journal of 1779, 'with Dr. Coke, who being dismissed from his curacy, has bidden adieu to his honorable name, and determined to cast in his lot with us.' Coke was then in his thirtieth year. While in London, where he continued as energetic in his Master's service as he had been in his curacy at South Petherton, and where he derived much help from the deep religious experience of some devoted christian men and women, he commanded the entire confidence of Wesley, who had long felt the need of such an helper. In assisting him in his correspondence, visiting the societies in various parts of the kingdom, and in the exercise of an earnest and efficient ministry, he became Wesley's 'right-hand man.' A position of greater responsibility, involving a wider sphere of action, awaited him. At the close of the war in America, Wesley, who thought himself restrained from acting at home as he in other circumstances would have done, by his connection with the National Church, and by the influence of a few warm friends among its ministry, resolved to give to his societies in America, where prelates of the National

Church had ceased to possess any jurisdiction, a regular organization. For this purpose he selected Dr. Coke, and formally set him apart as a Superintendent. For many years he retained his official relation to the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, travelling through different States, preaching diligently as he journeyed; preparing the discipline of the church, and bearing testimony against that 'sum of all villanies,' slavery. In the fulfilment of these duties he crossed the ocean eighteen times. The missions in the East Indies, and in Ireland, as well as those in the Lower British American Provinces, Newfoundland, and Bermuda, were for many years supported to a large extent from a fund, replenished by his personal liberality, and by his appeals from door to door in various towns and cities of the kingdom. After having devoted an ample fortune of his own, and large amounts left him by his two wives, to the support of missions, and having tirelessly labored with pen and tongue, for the salvation of men at home and abroad, Coke, at the age of sixty, set his heart upon the establishment of a mission to India. His brethren used every effort to dissuade him. They urged his advanced age; the importance of his services at home; the necessity of his efforts in support of the missions already in operation; as well as the difficulty of providing for a mission of so costly a character as that proposed by him. None of these arguments moved him. When some of his brethren added remonstrance to argument, he burst into tears and exclaimed, 'If you will not let me go to India, you will break my heart.' Seeing him bent on the prosecution of the mission, they yielded. Followed by the prayers of thousands, he sailed for India, with six young missionaries, towards the end of the year 1813. His heart was full of India; his thoughts, his

conversation, his studies, his prayers, all had reference to that distant and dark country. Yet he was not permitted to see its shores. His brethren who accompanied him landed, and commenced a mission which has been steadily carried on to the present day. On the morning of May 3rd, 1814, he was found dead on the floor of his cabin. The great deep became his burial place. None could be more fitting for a man whose heart embraced a world, and whose whole life was a practical comment on that grandest of facts, 'He died for all.'

To William Black, of Nova Scotia, belongs the high honor of having developed, in no small degree, in the heart of Coke, that missionary spirit which never ceased to impel him, until his body found a resting-place, nearly thirty years later, in the Indian Ocean. Grand thoughts respecting the Gospel for the world, had doubtless been revolving in his mind at an earlier period. Yet, as Stevens states, 'he seems to have received in America that anointing of the missionary spirit which originated at last, through his agency, the whole Wesleyan Missionary system.' 'It was at the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Baltimore,' adds Stevens, 'that he heard the appeal of Black for Nova Scotia. He responded to it with his whole heart; begging money for a mission to that Province, ordaining preachers for it, and especially commissioning Garrettson for it. Upon his return to Europe, this and similar missionary opportunities kept his soul kindled with interest, and were the themes of his appeals to the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland.'[8] Dr. Etheridge, in his 'Life of Coke,' gives expression to a similar opinion. 'The grand but neglected provisions of the Gospel,' he remarks, 'which can save not a few, or many, but all who need them;

[8] 'History of the Methodist Episcopal Church,' vol. 2, p. 261.

and the guiltily ignored obligations of duty incumbent on the drowsy and unfaithful churches at home to send its message of mercy to all the tribes of our race, had risen before him with the light and awfulness of an apocalypse from God, and had given the final stamp to the character of his life.'[9] During the following year he published an 'Address to the Pious and Benevolent' in behalf of Missions; and literally traversed England from North to South for the purpose which had taken the full sway of his life.

Black was thus successful beyond his expectations. He had gone to obtain laborers for the field which had proved too extensive for his most active efforts. He obtained these, and at the same time succeeded in enlisting a life-long sympathy on the part of Coke, who had power to assist in the maintenance of the work, by means of both men and money. William Glendenning, an eccentric Scotchman, was named for Nova Scotia. Happily, he refused to accept the appointment. His brethren, on the ground of want of gifts, refused to ordain him at that Conference. After locating in 1786, he applied for admission to the Conference; but the preachers, believing him to be insane, declined to receive him; and he wandered about among the societies in Virginia and North Carolina, hospitably supported by them, until an advanced age.[10] The appointments to Nova Scotia were filled by two men of a very different character. At the solicitation of Coke, Freeborn Garrettson, the young man who had been 'sent off like an arrow' to summon his brethren to the Christmas Conference, and James Oliver Cromwell, who had seen three years service in the itinerancy in the South, volunteered for work in the British Provinces.

[9] 'Life of Coke,' p. 156.

[10] Stevens 'History of the M. E. Church,' vol. 2, p. 16.

Garrettson belonged to a family of influence in Maryland. His parents were members of the Episcopal Church. In early life, he had longings for some undefined good, the nature of which he had none to to explain. Even the pastor of the parish did not appear competent to solve the problems of his anxious conscience. He met Strawbridge and some other itinerants. Their teaching seemed mysterious, yet he so far believed it to be in accordance with truth, that he dared not join others in persecuting them. One day, a young man who had embraced the Gospel, as presented by the itinerants, stopped him on the road, and spoke of Jesus, recommending Him to Garrettson in such an attractive way, as to convince him that religion was real, and to lead him to conclude that the time had come to give the subject serious thought. He now 'read, prayed, and wept,' till after midnight. Asbury, and other itinerants, came into the neighborhood. Asbury, in particular, preached in a way that implied to the young man a knowledge on the part of the preacher of his inmost struggles. A revival commenced, and persecution followed. Garrettson's father became alarmed about his son, though the latter had made no profession of religion. His name began to be cast out as evil. To avoid persecution, he sought to satisfy his conscience by leading a respectable life. He now attended the parish church regularly, fasted once a week, prayed in secret, and rebuked profanity among his neighbors. But under Methodist preaching, which possessed for him an irresistible attraction, the foundations of his hope trembled. While listening to a sermon by one of the itinerants, he was so 'oppressed,' that when riding home through a lonely wood, he dismounted and knelt in prayer. The thought of a convenient season, however, still lingered with him. On continuing his

journey homeward, he was arrested by an almost overpowering consciousness that 'now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.' 'I threw,' said Garrettson, 'the reins of my bridle upon my horse's neck, and putting my hands together, cried, "Lord I submit." I was less than nothing in my sight, and was now, for the first time, reconciled to the justice of God. The enmity of my heart was slain, and the plan of salvation was open to me. I saw a beauty in the perfections of the Deity, and felt that power of faith and love that I had been a stranger to. My soul was so exceeding happy that I seemed as if I wanted to take wings and fly away to heaven.'

The power of Garrettson's faith was at once shewn by his works. His family was at once gathered together for prayer. Standing in the midst of his slaves, with a hymn-book in his hand, and about to begin worship, he pronounced them all free. At that moment a 'divine sweetness' ran through his whole frame. 'Had I the tongue of an angel,' he says, 'I could not describe what I felt.' With no definite idea of preaching, but only intent on doing good, he went forth. He became an exhorter before he became a member of the Church. Rare results followed his utterances. Under his message men fell on their knees crying for mercy. These he formed in classes. Rodda took him out upon his circuit, but reluctant to become an itinerant, and alarmed at the responsibilities of his new position, he rode back to his home. Called out by another itinerant, he took a circuit in 1775, and never turned back. The story of his long, heroic, and successful services in the itinerant ranks, has been told with thrilling effect by the historian of the Methodist Church in America. [11]

[11] Stevens 'History of the M. E. Church,' vol. 1, p. 352–373.

At the time of Coke's arrival, Garrettson was about to leave for the Carolinas. At the Christmas Conference he was appointed to Nova Scotia, and both he and Cromwell were ordained Elders. In order to meet the expense of their outfit and passage, Coke, at the close of one of his sermons preached during the Conference at Baltimore, took up a collection amounting to about one hundred and fifty dollars. At the close of the Conference he spent three weeks in New York, in preaching, publishing his sermons preached before the Conference, and collecting funds for the mission to Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER VI.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE LOYALISTS IN 1783, TO THE FIRST CONFERENCE IN 1786. (*Continued.*)

Arrival of Garrettson and Cromwell. Black in New England. Favorable reception of Garrettson by those in authority in Halifax. His entrance upon his work. His visits to the country. Interviews with the Newlights. Garrettson's visit to Liverpool. Religious state of the township. Garrettson's success at Shelburne. Continued opposition. Black's work in Halifax, and in the country districts. Garrettson's plan of work in Halifax. Marchinton's proposal to Wesley respecting the erection of a chapel. Report of prospects in the country. Jonathan Crane and his wife. James N. Shannon. Introduction of Methodism at Barrington and Cape Negro. Mrs. Joseph Homer. Samuel O. Doane. James Mann. Interesting incident. Black's removal to Halifax. State of religious society in that town. Revival. Alexander Anderson. William Grandine. Incident at Liverpool. First Provincial Methodist Conference. Absence of Dr. Coke. Appointments. Membership. Finances. Dr. Coke's stormy passage, and arrival at Antigua.

Garrettson and Cromwell sailed from New York about the middle of February, 1785, for their new field of labor. In a small vessel, deeply laden, they encountered a severe storm, and were tossed about, at the most wintry season of the year, for fourteen days. Garrettson had never seen 'so dismal a time.' On their arrival at Halifax they received a warm welcome from Marchinton and the few Methodists of the city. A few days after their arrival Cromwell sailed for Shelburne; while Garrettson remained for several weeks in Halifax. Black, taking advantage of the opportunity, turned aside to visit friends. In Boston, where he preached frequently in several churches placed at his disposal, his efforts to do good were so highly appreciated, that a congregation, supposed to consist of not less than three thousand per-

sons, listened to his last address. In the absence of a Methodist Church, a number of persons, converted in the revival which followed his labors, connected themselves with the Orthodox churches of the city. 'Several,' says his biographer, 'when he preached there again in 1822, hung around the pulpit, who, calling to remembrance the former times, recognised in the messenger of the churches who addressed them, now venerable with age, the man who in the bloom and fervor of youth, had warned them, not without effect, to flee from the wrath to come.' [1] Four years after Black's visit, when Jesse Lee, the apostle of Methodism in the New England States, penetrated into the interior of Connecticut, he was 'welcomed,' says Stevens, 'by a few inquiring spirits, who had been led, by the instrumentality of Black, to seek for a higher religious life than prevailed around them.' [2] About the last of May, he reached Cumberland, and hastened to meet Garrettson, whom he found at Falmouth.

Garrettson had proceeded in his mission with becoming prudence. Soon after his arrival he called on Dr. Breynton, the Rector of St. Paul's, who received him in a spirit which did the aged clergyman high honor. 'You are on a blessed errand,' he said to his visitor, 'I will do what I can in assisting you. I desire to see the Gospel spread.' Not less kindly was his reception by Governor Parr, on whom, accompanied by Marchinton, he called on the following day. The Governor spoke in commendation of Wesley; assured Garrettson of his approbation of the purpose which had led him to the province; and added, 'Whenever you call for my assistance, if I can help you, I will.' The Secretary listened

[1] Richey's 'Memoir of Black,' p. 141.

[2] 'History of M. E. Church,' vol. 2, p. 420.

respectfully to his objections to taking the oath of allegiance, and advised him, if any disorderly conduct should take place during any of his services, to apply to a magistrate, assuring him that he should find favor.

In a house capable of containing three hundred hearers, rented by Marchinton at ten dollars per month, and fitted up by him with seats and a pulpit, Garrettson commenced his ministry in Halifax. Services were held very frequently through the week, and three times on the Sabbath. The room was soon filled, and on Sabbath evenings many had to return home, unable to obtain seats. The people listened with 'attention and solemnity,' and seven or eight persons were formed into a class. Less interruption was offered than might have been expected. 'For two nights, wrote Garrettson, 'we had a little disturbance. One night the stones flew, and one of nearly a pound weight was levelled at me, but missed its aim, and struck out two panes of glass near my head.' 'This is but trifling,' he adds, 'if I can win souls to Jesus.'

Towards the end of March, in response to repeated invitations, Garrettson left Halifax to spend a fortnight in the country. During that time he travelled three hundred miles through deep snow, and preached twenty times to attentive listeners. Several of the Yorkshire Methodists gave him a hearty welcome. In the latter part of May, he undertook a second visit to the country. On the 20th he preached at Windsor, in the Court-house, to 'a people who seemed to be well pleased,' but none of whom 'were convinced of sin.' At Cornwallis, a more marked interest in his message led him to tarry a few days, during which he formed a society of twelve 'deeply awakened' persons. Wilmot, Granville, Annapolis and Digby were visited in succession. Many listened to him at these places, but few were willing to yield to

the divine claims, as set forth by the preacher. Of the people of Digby, a new loyalist settlement, he remarks, 'They were entirely destitute of a minister, and I fear of religion too.' The situation of those at Annapolis he thought little better; 'For although they had a minister, his discourses were not adapted to awaken the sleepy hearers.' At the latter place, 'many looked upon me,' says Garrettson, 'as an enemy, and would not come out to hear me.' The wickedness of the people caused the itinerant sorrowful hours. At Digby, during the following summer, he formed a society of sixty in number, nearly all of whom were colored people.

To travel through that section of the province extending from Windsor to Annapolis, without being brought into frequent collision with the disciples of Alline, was at that day scarcely possible. To a stranger their views were at once novel and offensive. Garrettson, who had to pass through frequent examinations, was at first perplexed by the strange and contradictory tenets they professed to hold. 'Some of them,' he wrote, 'seem to have the fear of God, but in general they are as deluded a people as I ever saw. Almost all of them preach in public. I was conversing with one who seems to be a principal person among them. She said she believed death would slay more sins for her than ever were destroyed before. "As for sin," said she, "it cannot hurt me; not even adultery, murder, swearing, drunkenness, nor any other sin, can break the union between me and Christ."' One morning as he was leaving Wilmot for Granville, a man ran out to meet him. 'Sir,' said the man, 'I like a part of your doctrine well, but a part I don't like.' 'What part don't you like?' said the preacher. 'You say, sir, that a saint may fall,' was the answer. 'Will you answer me one question?' said Garrett-

son; 'Do you know that you were ever converted?' 'I do,' was the reply. 'Pray tell me then, sir,' said Garrettson, 'how matters are at present between God and your own soul?' 'Why,' said the man, 'its a winter state.' Pressed closely, he confessed that he was living in sin. 'And yet,' responded Garrettson,' you do not believe in falling from grace! I believe it is because you are fallen. This is what you call a winter state! I call it lying in the arms of the wicked one, and you may talk as you will about your past experience, but I would not give a straw for your chance of heaven if you die in this state. You are reconciling Christ and Belial.' 'O,' said the man addressed, 'I shall be raised up at the last day.' 'You will,' was the final reply, 'but unless you repent, it will be to be cast into the lake of fire.' The man, who had not expected to have his questions on creeds answered by the asking of others on personal experience, then withdrew, apparently much affected.

On the 26th of July, Garrettson reached Liverpool. The upheaval of the former ecclesiastical system obtaining in that township had been complete. A long existing dissatisfaction with the pastor had ended in his dismission. The Newlight party sought to obtain control of the church. Their efforts in this direction were opposed by those who remained faithful to 'the standing order.' The latter, while making every possible effort to secure a faithful pastor, through the aid of their friends in the United States, were willing to open the building for the use of any minister whom they regarded as provided with satisfactory credentials. For several months, William Firmage, a Calvinistic Methodist, belonging to Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, occupied the pulpit. While the ownership of the building remained a matter

of dispute, John Mann, whose prospects of success in business at Shelburne were dark, removed to Liverpool in compliance with the invitation of several parties. A determined effort was made by the Newlights to prevent him from occupying the pulpit on the Sabbath morning after his arrival. Public feeling, however, ran so strongly in favour of Mann, that the Newlight leader closed his hymn-book, and with his friends withdrew at once from the house, leaving the preacher to conduct the three services of the day without farther interruption. In spite of secret insinuations, to which his opponents resorted upon the failure of open opposition, Mann persevered, and aided by Cromwell, who spent a month with him in the spring of 1785, succeeded in gathering a society of twenty members. On the evening of the day on which he arrived, and on the following evening also, Garrettson preached in the Congregational Church, to a people 'willing to hear the word.' He continued at Liverpool during four weeks, constantly preaching and visiting from house to house, with such success that before his departure the members in society had increased from twenty to forty, several of whom had experienced conversion.

Towards the close of August, Garrettson arrived at Shelburne. His congregations, which did not exceed fifty persons at first, increased so rapidly, that the room which afforded accommodation for two hundred hearers, proved too small to contain those who came. The Rector, Dr. William Walter, who had been indebted to the Methodists for the use of their preaching room, previous to the erection of his temporary church, now tendered them the use of the church in return. Garrettson had occupied the church a part of three Sabbaths, when the vestry excited to opposition by the awakening power which

accompanied his preaching, interposed their authority to prevent his farther occupation of it, and the Methodists, thanking Dr. Walter, who reluctantly yielded to the action of his vestry, withdrew. Garrettson, driven from the church, took his stand upon a rock which is still pointed out at the Cove, below the town. In a short time White's building was enlarged to accommodate four hundred persons, but was still found to be too small. Garrettson then proposed to the Blacks to build a small place of worship for themselves, at the north of the town.

During the six weeks spent by Garrettson at Shelburne and the adjoining settlements, one hundred and fifty persons were received by him into the societies. A work so successful was not carried on without serious opposition. Sometimes stones were thrown at him; at other times rotten eggs. The preaching house, hastily constructed, stood on posts on the brow of a hill. One evening when Garrettson was preaching to nearly four hundred persons, a mob endeavored to remove the posts, intending to push the building down the hill. During the sermon, the preacher, ignorant of their intention, quoted in a loud tone, 'Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.' Some of the mob, supposing the discovery of their design, gave the alarm, when the whole party ran off with hideous yells, and left the congregation to conclude the service in peace. Among the traditions of Shelburne, is one concerning an outrage committed about this time on one of the itinerants, by a party of sailors belonging to His Majesty's ship Mercury. The floor of the room in which services were held was reached by a flight of steps on the outside of the building, terminating in a small landing at the head. The plot, which was to place beneath the

landing an oil cask, and by means of ropes, to displace the planks at the precise moment when the preacher should step from the door, is said to have been too successfully carried out.

To the very moment of departure, Garrettson was pursued by opposition of a vexatious character. As the sails were being hoisted on the vessel in which he had taken passage for Liverpool, an officer of a man-of-war in the harbor, called to some persons near him, 'He's going.' The party shouted, 'Hail the Methodist parson.' As the captain paid no attention to their repeated shouts, a gun was fired, which obliged him to lower sail, and Garrettson to submit to have his trunk examined, amidst the blasphemous utterances of the sailors, who stood near. At Liverpool, where he remained two weeks, he found the work of Lord prospering under John Mann, and preached 'with much assurance and comfort.'

Upon his return in the autumn to Halifax, Garrettson had the satisfaction of finding the work in that town in a prosperous state. Black had been in labors abundant. Occasional visits to the country had involved large expenditure of time and labor, but had not been without satisfactory results. 'On Sunday, July 3rd, 1785,' wrote Black in his journal, 'I preached at Mr. Scott's at Windsor, twice. On Monday, I rode to Horton, and preached at the town; on Tuesday, at the Baptist meeting-house with peculiar freedom; on Wednesday, at the Presbyterian meeting-house; on Thursday, at Habitant; on Saturday, at Granville; and on Sunday, at Annapolis and Granville. From Granville, he went to Digby. Many in that place seemed 'much engaged.' He left there a little Church of seventy-eight members, sixty-six of whom were blacks; and returning to Halifax, preached at various places on the way.

During one of the excursions into the country about this period, Jehu Mosher, a young man who had been brought when a child from his home in Rhode Island, with the New England settlers who landed in 1761, at the 'Landing,' at Newport, listened to Black, gave himself to God, and united with the Methodist Church, of which he remained a member until his decease in 1851, at the advanced age of ninety-six. In September, leaving John Mann in charge at Halifax, Black visited Liverpool and Shelburne. In the latter place, he spent a happy Sabbath with Garrettson, and attended a love-feast, at which 'one or two were blessed with the peace of God.'

During the winter of 1785-6, Black took his station at Cumberland; Cromwell at Shelburne; Mann at Liverpool; while Garrettson took charge of the extensive Halifax circuit. At Cumberland, Black, while uncheered by those wonted indications of success which had accompanied his labors in earlier days, was comforted by the conviction that his endeavours to bring about a return of happier times, had not been altogether in vain. At Shelburne, Cromwell labored with as much energy as feeble health would permit. Of a more retiring disposition than his colleague Garrettson, Cromwell was not prepared to encounter and conquer the opposition which only nerved the other to greater effort. The arrival of a coloured preacher named Morant, who, according to his own representations, had come out to Nova Scotia under the sanction of Lady Huntingdon, and appeared before his impressible countrymen, arrayed in his gown and bands, led a number of them at Burchtown to withdraw from the classes formed there. Morant's influence was, however, of short duration; and during the following summer, through Garrettson's

efforts, the majority of the wanderers were brought back. Certain records, of a wholly independent character, shew John Mann, who seems now to have given himself up wholly to the work of the ministry, to have labored throughout the winter at Liverpool with rare diligence.

Throughout Garrettson's extensive charge, the work was prosecuted with varying results. Garrettson's plan of labor, when in the city, was one which only a man of unusual vigor could carry out. On the Sabbath, he preached at eight in the morning, at the 'preaching-house;' at ten, at the poor-house; at noon, at the preaching-house; at four, in a private-house near the Dockyard; and again at 'candle-light,' in the preaching-house. The prisoners were also visited on Friday afternoon, and services held each evening in the week. Garrettson also preached several times during that winter at Dartmouth, where the people offered to build a preaching-house, if regular services could be guaranteed. Marchinton, who had prospered in business at the outset, owing, it is said, to an error in the shipment of a certain class of goods, by which a much larger quantity than he had ordered, had been placed in his hands, to meet a ready sale at an advanced price, had, through a friend, offered with the help of several others, to raise five hundred pounds for the erection of a Methodist church, if Wesley would undertake to furnish five hundred more. Wesley, at a period in the history of Methodism, upon which we are apt to look back as, in a spiritual sense, its 'golden' age, replied in words which deserve the careful consideration of all to whom the Lord 'hath given power to get wealth;' 'It is a noble proposal of brother Marchinton; but I doubt it will not take place. You do not know the state of the English Methodists. They do not roll in money like many of the American Methodists. It is with the

utmost difficulty that we can raise five or six hundred pounds a year to supply our contingent expenses, so that it is entirely impracticable to raise five hundred pounds among them, to build houses in America. It is true they might do much; but it is a sad observation, they that have most money have usually the least grace.' Marchinton's proposal not having been accepted, he proceeded in the spring of 1786, to erect a church, capable of accommodating one thousand hearers, on his own property in Argyle street, at the head of Bell's Lane, known in Halifax, in former years, as Marchinton's Lane.

From the country districts under his care, Garrettson forwarded encouraging reports. At Windsor, 'in which place,' he wrote, 'God has given us a loving society,' arrangements had been made for the building of a small church. These arrangements were not, however, carried out. A few friends at Annapolis, proposed to make an effort in the same direction, 'though they had very little preaching for six months.' In Cornwallis also, five hundred dollars had been subscribed towards the erection of a church in that township.

The names of Jonathan Crane, Esq., and his brother-in-law, James Noble Shannon, Esq., are, at this time, mentioned by Garrettson, in connection with an offer on their part, of two hundred dollars toward the erection of a Methodist church at Horton. 'Colonel' Crane never became a member of the Church, to which, for many years, he rendered material assistance of a financial character. 'In his last affliction,' says Richey, in his "Memoirs of Black," 'he was led to seek God with his whole heart. Ere the shadows of death gathered around him, a light was kindled in his soul, that enabled him to tread the dreaded vale with joyful and unsuspecting

confidence in the God of his salvation.' For the material aid which the Methodists of Horton received from him, they were indebted, in no small measure, to the influence of his excellent wife. Mrs. Crane belonged to a family, several of the members of which have been blessed, and have been made a blessing through their identification with Methodism. She was the first of the 'Allisons' to declare herself one of a people everywhere spoken against. The family to which she belonged, had emigrated about 1770, from Londonderry, Ireland, and had settled at Horton. Soon after her arrival in Nova Scotia, she became the wife of Jonathan Crane. Her first religious impressions were received, it is said, under the preaching of a minister of the Presbyterian Church, in connection with which she had been trained; but having no intimate friends to whom she could speak with confidence respecting her convictions of duty, she embraced every opportunity of listening to the sermons of Black and Garrettson. Conversation with these ministers upon the topic which had become to her one of the greatest possible importance having convinced her that they were quite able to sympathize with her in her religious experiences, and competent to give such advice as her circumstances required. she invited them to her home; and having, through their guidance, obtained a comfortable assurance of pardon and acceptance with God, she became, about 1775, a member of one of the first classes formed in the county of Kings. The position occupied by her husband, 'a tall, handsome man with fluent speech, and an amazing readiness of natural wit, and illustrative power,' which rendered him one of the 'distinguished' members of the Provincial legislature of that 'halcyon' period, [3] and who, at the

[3] Murdoch's 'History of Nova Scotia,' vol. 3, p. 99.

time of his decease in 1820, was the senior member of the House of Assembly, enabled her, though a modest and unassuming woman, to exert an influence for good over a large circle of friends, until her departure in 1841. Soon after Mrs. Crane had joined the Methodist society at Horton, she was followed by James Noble Shannon and his wife. A few years later they removed to Parsboro'. Naturally of 'a very diffident mind, prone to look at his own heart, a peculiarity in his case rather constitutional than moral, till humiliation degenerated into despondence, Mr. Shannon, remarks one, who, in the earlier days of his ministry, often shared his hospitality, 'walked in the fear of God, but seldom enjoyed a large share of the comfort of the Holy Ghost.' The end of both was peace.[4]

In the spring of 1786, the itinerants left their winter quarters. Early in April, Garrettson proceeded to the southern coast. John Mann availed himself of the opportunity afforded by Garrettson's brief stay at Liverpool, to visit the societies at Windsor and Cornwallis. Mann's ministry at Liverpool had been successful. 'There is a lively society,' Garrettson wrote to Wesley. 'Alline's small party oppose us warmly. The greater part of the town attend our ministry, and the first people have joined our society.' After a short visit at Liverpool, Garrettson pushed on to Shelburne. On his arrival he was glad to find Cromwell able to set out for Liverpool and Halifax. The decline of business at Shelburne, already too evident, convinced Garrettson that many of his friends in that place would soon be driven by necessity to seek homes elsewhere.

After having used all possible effort to repair the breach which had been caused among the colored mem-

[4] Richey's 'Memoir of Black,' p. 180.

bers at Shelburne and Burchtown, through the presence of Morant, Garrettson, accompanied by a friend, set out for Barrington. His route thither lay along the coast, over rough and slightly-trodden foot-paths, wide enough only to permit travellers to pass through the woods in 'Indian file;' over swamps without causeway; and over rivers and brooks, unbridged save by the 'windfall,' which had stretched itself across the stream, and over which the unpracticed traveller must creep on 'all fours,' after the fashion of the bear. After preaching at Roseway, where there were a few members, and at Cape Negro, where he was hospitably entertained, Garrettson waded through 'mud and water' to Barrington. His friend and himself sat down on a large stone, uncertain whether any one would receive them. A Newlight preacher had warned the people against him, as 'legal, and destitute of faith;' and a Calvinist minister, who had for a time preached in the township, had written them, that 'there was one Garrettson going through the country who was a dangerous 'Arminian,' and had cautioned them to be on their guard against him.

At the head of the harbor stood the meeting-house. Nearly all the original settlers of Barrington, by whom the building had been erected, were Congregationalists, but the absence of doors and windows, seemed to indicate a willingness to place it at the disposal of any who might wish to occupy it. Garrettson's travelling companion therefore gave notice that a stranger intended to preach there, an hour before sunset. At the time appointed twenty persons came, listened, and then retired. Garrettson and his friend were making up their minds to spend the night in the meeting-house, when a 'good woman' returned, and invited them to her home. This friend in need, whose long and useful life termi-

nated in 1856 at the ripe age of ninety-six, is still remembered in Barrington, as Mary, the wife of Joseph Homer, Esqr. Under the preaching of Garrettson, she sought and found rest in the atonement of Christ, and became a useful christian, presenting in old age, according to the testimony of one who knew her well, 'a pleasing and interesting picture of quiet, calm, patient, uncomplaining waiting for her appointed time.' The next evening Garrettson preached to a few more. On Sunday, a hundred listened to him, but still 'looked very coldly' upon him. In the evening he preached on an island seven miles off, where he was kindly received by Mr. S., a sensible man.' On another evening he visited a smaller island.

The cool reception which Garrettson had met, led him at times to despair of accomplishing anything for his Master, at Barrington. On the following Sabbath all his fears were dispelled. On the morning of that day, he arose in great mental distress; and at the hour appointed for service, went to the meeting-house, where none awaited his arrival. 'Upon this,' he writes, 'I retired into a wood about a quarter of a mile from the place, and entreated the Lord to send out the people, and bless His word. Upon returning to the meeting-house, I saw the people assembling from every part of the town, and in a little while we had a large company. The cloud that had oppressed my mind instantly vanished, the Scriptures opened to me, and the word of the Lord reached the hearts of the hearers. Between two and three hundred were awakened in a greater or less degree. After the meeting it appeared that their shyness and prejudices were all removed, and they came around me on every side, with tears inviting me to their houses. After a few days spent at Shelburne, Garrettson

returned to Barrington. He found that very few families had passed uninfluenced through this visitation of the Spirit. At the head of the harbor, as well as on the islands, he visited nearly all the dwellings, and finding the people generally willing to unite in church-membership, on what they called the 'Arminian plan,' he formed a church of fifty members. Twenty of these were believed by Garrettson to have experienced the love of God. 'There have been,' he wrote in reference to the work at Barrington and the neighborhood, 'as many clear and powerful conversions as I have seen in any part of the States.' Besides those gathered into the fold, there were many earnest seekers. Four leaders, and two stewards were appointed to watch over the interests of the society.

At Cape Negro, where ten families then resided, the results attending Garrettson's ministry were not less marked than at Barrington. Few individuals remained unimpressed. One man, who had bitterly reproached his wife for her attendance upon the services, went himself, was cut to the heart, and was soon, with his wife, enabled to rejoice in God. Among others who sought forgiveness was a lady, the wife of a 'gentleman of fortune,' who had been converted in childhood under the preaching of Wesley and Whitfield in England, and had been received as a convert by the latter, but who had, through unfriendly influences, wandered, from her God. Garrettson formed in the settlement a class of sixteen members, ten of whom professed to have obtained forgiveness of sins.

During that season of grace, Samuel Osborne Doane, Sr., Esq., with his wife, who a few months later, under the ministry of Garrettson's successor, first trusted in Christ, united with the Methodist Church. Their five

children were baptised by Garrettson. The prominent position occupied by Mr. Doane in the township of Barrington, rendered his consistent life a great blessing; and the regularity with which, assisted by Jonathan Smith, he maintained the Sabbath and week-day services in the absence of the preacher,—such absence being the rule rather than the exception at that period,—was said, many years after his decease in 1824, by a venerable resident of the township, to be the principal cause of the 'comparatively commendable condition of society,' in the neighborhood in which he had lived and died. In April, 1871, James, the last survivor of the five children baptized by Garrettson in 1786, died at the age of ninety four. 'From the early morning till the long eventide of life,' it was said, 'the fear of God was ever before James Doane.

During the summer of 1786, Garrettson called to his assistance a young man, who, under his auspices, entered the itinerancy, and became one of the most highly esteemed ministers of early provincial Methodism. James Mann was a brother of John Mann. Though a descendant of the unexcitable Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam, afterwards New York, he possessed a good degree of wit and vivacity. In his earlier days he was gay and thoughtless. An incident related of him by one who, in early manhood, had known him well, shows him to have been possessed of a large measure of self-reliance. Having had occasion to leave the city of New York at an early period of the war, he sought protection by means of a pass from the General commanding the British troops. This pass he carefully concealed about his person. In spite of his vigilance, however, he fell into the hands of a party of American scouts. The attainment of liberty became now his chief concern; and to the morality of the man-

ner of its attainment he gave little thought. His general conversation, as well as his answers to inquiries, all went to prove him a staunch co-patriot and friend of those from whom it was his sole object to get free. Having been handed over to the officer in charge of the post, he obtained during the temporary absence of that officer, an introduction to his residence, where, by his pleasant manners, his loyal-whig conversation, and his Revolutionary songs, he completely removed all suspicion on the part of the officer's wife, and secured a share in the hospitalities of the household. The officer himself, on his return, was so well satisfied with the account given concerning his movements by the young man, and with that given of her prisoner by his hospitable keeper, that he permitted him to proceed on his journey in possession of a pass from a Whig officer. Thus doubly protected, he accomplished his purpose. Many years later, when relating the incident, he gravely remarked, 'I would not do so now.' 'No! not do this to obtain your liberty?' said the gentleman to whom he had related the circumstance. 'No!' was the firm reply, 'I would not utter an untruth to gain liberty or life.'[5]

Respecting the circumstances of James Mann's conversion little is known. In his native land he became conscious of his need of salvation. While yet a youth, he had heard Boardman and Pilmoor preach in New York. Charmed with the simplicity of the worship he witnessed, and the clearness of the doctrines to which he listened, he resolved that whenever he should enter upon a religious life, he would become a Methodist. This determination he carried into effect previously to his departure from New York. Though not then made happy through the forgiveness of sins, he, at once, with

[5] Winthrop Sargent, Esq., in 'Wesleyan,' Oct. 22, 1862.

that rigid consistency which marked his career throughout life, withdrew from former thoughtless associates, and sought his friends among the people of God. Soon after he had become a member of the Methodist Church, a lady who had frequently met him at those social gatherings in which he had taken such delight, and to the merriment of which he had in no small measure contributed by his genial conversation, and merry song, and fondness for the dance, met him, and after making reference to his absence from their circle of pleasure, invited him to join them again. 'Those days, Madam,' was his reply, 'are passed and gone.' And when rallied by his former friend about his 'Methodistic nonsense,' and urged not to 'bury himself alive,' he closed the conversation by assuring her that sooner or later we must learn, that

> 'For happiness too low they build,
> Who build below the sky.'

In New York, where the relations between the Episcopalians and Methodists were of a friendly character, James Mann frequently acted as clerk in the services conducted by Charles Inglis, afterwards the first Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Nova Scotia.

A strong attachment to Britain led him to leave New York for Nova Scotia, with the thousands of exiles who found their way to the province in 1783. After his arrival in the land of his adoption, he sought and obtained a consciousness of the Divine favor, through the remission of sins that are past. It has been stated on good authority, that he himself was wont to speak of the appearance of a young friend, lately deceased, under circumstances which seemed indicative of the utter abandonment of hope, as the cause which led him to seek more earnestly for an assurance of acceptance with

Christ.[6] Whatever differences of opinion may exist respecting the probability or improbability of the cause stated, the fact is clearly established that James Mann, at the foot of the cross, by whatever means he may have been led to that sacred spot, had felt the power of the atoning blood, and had made a complete surrender of self to Christ. For some time he taught school at Liverpool. While a resident of that town, he was invited by the committee of the Congregational Church to assist in conducting the services in 'Old Zion,' in the absence of a pastor, or of any visiting preacher. His efforts were highly appreciated by the people of Liverpool. During the summer of 1786, at the call of Garrettson, he gave himself wholly to the work for which God had been steadily preparing him, and went to Barrington, where Garrettson, in the autumn, left him in charge of the new societies.

During the spring of 1786, William Black removed his family from Amherst to Halifax. 'The people of Halifax,' Garrettson reported to Wesley, 'have had very little preaching of late, at which they are much tried.' 'It is impossible,' he added, 'to supply half the places where they want us.' Some new religious elements had been introduced by the arrival of the loyalists, and the comparatively small population of the city had become very much divided in religious sentiment. 'There is,' wrote Black, a little later, 'one large English church: one small Dutch church; one Presbyterian meeting-house; one Roman Catholic chapel; besides a small society of Quakers; one of Sandemanians; and one of the followers of Swedenborg; together with a few of Lady Huntingdon's society, and a great swarm of

[6] 'An incident of a similar character, and followed by similar results, is given in the Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Savage. 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' 1859, p. 679.

infidels.'[7] As a natural result of the frequent absence of their own pastors, and of the influences by which they were surrounded, the small class of Methodists, whose piety Garrettson had feared to be 'not very deep yet,' had been scattered. Black on his arrival, immediately formed another, of those who felt disposed to avail themselves of the privilege. During the month of August the prospect became much brighter. 'For some time' Black wrote, 'few attended preaching. However, I trust God has again begun to work. One or two have experienced remission of sins. Yesterday several were

[7] Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, was one of the few of noble rank who became the friends of Methodism. When the separation took place between Wesley and Whitfield, she became impressed with the idea that Wesley denied the doctrine of justification by faith, and insisted upon the saving merit of works, and she, therefore, took the side of Whitfield. A short time before her death, when she read Wesley's dying ascription of his salvation to the blood of the Lamb, and learned from Wesley's fellow traveller, Joseph Bradford, that his preaching had always been in accordance with his dying testimony, she burst into tears, and lamented that the separation had ever taken place. This noble Christian woman, who not only used her influence in the highest circles of the kingdom, but opened her own mansion for the preaching of the Gospel, and expended not less than a half a million of dollars in her efforts to make Christ known to all classes of her countrymen, became the recognized leader of the Calvinistic Methodists, gathered under the ministry of Whitfield, Howell Harris and others. Among the evangelists sent by her to America, was William Firmage, who landed at Halifax. He is described by one who frequently listened to him, as 'a very small, diminutive-looking man, having a good voice, and being something of an orator.' In the autumn of 1783 he went to Liverpool, where he occupied the pulpit of 'Old Zion' until the following spring, when the opposition of the Newlights obliged him to return to Halifax. In that place, where he spent the remainder of his days, he was long remembered as a good man. When dying, he said that he had been trampled upon during his life; charged, like his Heavenly Master, with being irregular and without authority as a teacher; and esteemed of no repute; and desired that his body should be interred just inside the gate of the old burying ground, where all who passed in and out might walk over it. The strange request was complied with. The stone which marked his grave was removed some years before the closing of the cemetery, as an obstruction to funerals entering the large gate.

crying in the bitterness of their souls, groaning for redemption. Our congregations also increase fast. Last night our room was nearly filled. We have now thirty-two in society.'

Among those who were led into the enjoyment of an assurance of Divine favor, through the instrumentality of Black's ministry at this period, was one who became not only a pillar of strength to the Methodist church in Halifax, where he resided until the close of life, nearly half a century later, but who by his character, and by his pen, exerted an influence highly favorable to his Master's cause, in a much wider sphere. Alexander Anderson was at this time the second clerk in the office of the Naval Storekeeper at the Dockyard. In 1777, while prosecuting his studies at King's College, Aberdeen, he was offered by a Mr. Cort, the position of tutor to his family, whom he was about to take to Miramichi. Pleased with the prospect of going abroad, and anxious to avoid the beaten path in which young men at that day generally moved, he immediately accepted an offer which he feared friends might urge him to decline; and in ten or twelve days from the date of the proposal, went on board ship for London. The four years spent by him at Miramichi were years of sore discipline. American privateers prevented the prosecution of the fisheries, while the Indians, who were very numerous, and under the influence of American emissaries, appropriated the cattle, robbed the stores, and burned some of the dwellings of the settlers; and passing up and down the river, with deafening shouts and yells, threatened to destroy their lives. The discipline of that period, he afterwards felt to be salutary. 'Trials,' he assured a former teacher, 'taught me more religion than many sermons.' In 1781, he left Miramichi for Halifax, where,

with little influence to aid him, he secured an easy, yet renumerative position. In that position, his inflexible integrity, severely tested, gained him the full confidence of those in authority, while it possibly retarded his promotion, During a visit to England in 1782, he was introduced to John Newton, the Rector of St. Mary Woolnooth, better known in connection with his early residence at Olney, where he became the intimate friend of the poet Cowper. While in London he attended the ministry of Mr. Newton, by whom he was kindly welcomed to his residence. For several years occasional letters passed between them. The correspondence is indicative of an anxiety on the part of one to receive spiritual guidance, and of a willingness on the part of the other to impart it. Respecting Mr. Anderson's visit to England, Mr. Newton wrote him in 1783, in his own peculiar style, 'I trust you are thankful to the Lord, and you have reason to be so. If during your absence from Halifax, you had made a voyage to Solomon's Ophir, and returned with a ship laden with gold, all your own property, the people of the place would have envied and admired your success. But you made a still more gainful voyage. You brought from thence a cargo of sin and uneasiness, which you exchanged in England for the peace and comfort of the Gospel. How different were your views in coming hither, from the Lord's views concerning you. When Saul was wholly taken up in seeking his father's asses, Samuel surprised him with the news of a kingdom, which he had not thought of. I have reason to be very thankful that the Lord gave me the honor of pointing out to you His gracious purposes in your favor, and of putting you in possession of a treasure unspeakably more valuable than the wealth of both the Indies.'

To 'live soberly, righteously and godly,' in the state of religion and morals then prevailing in Halifax, and especially in the circle in which Mr. Anderson had been accustomed to move, involved a struggle of unusual severity. Such a life could be maintained only by a determination made in the strength of grace. No compromise could be permitted. It does not appear that any was attempted. He revised his list of friends, and withdrew from the more gay and thoughtless, while he cherished an acquaintance with the few pious individuals he had found. Communion with the latter, some of whom were connected with the Dockyard, and correspondence with John Newton, from whom he received a yearly letter, proved a help to him. It does not appear that previously to 1786 he had attended any of the Methodist services. By training a Presbyterian, and in consequence of the absence of a minister of that church at the time of his arrival at Halifax, an attendant at Episcopal services, he had no predilection for either the doctrines, or the economy of Methodism. He was led, however, in the spring of 1786, to listen to the Methodist itinerants. He was charmed with their preaching. 'We have frequent visits,' he wrote in June of that year to a friend in England, 'from spiritual preachers, and I thank Jesus for it. I am just from hearing one of that description, who preached near Blackadar's. His instruction was great, but his audience small. Indeed, it is almost a reproach to frequent such meetings, which are composed of the poorest class of citizens, and derided by the magistrates, whose duty in an especial manner it is to correct morals, and inculcate virtue and piety.' In a letter written in August to his father, in Morayshire, Scotland, he informed him that 'it had pleased God, especially of late, to visit his soul with much of his grace, light, and love,'

and to teach him 'why he had been bowed down with spiritual tribulation, from eight years of age.' Henceforth, his letters breathed a new spirit, as they bore to his friends confident declarations of personal peace, through the atonement of Christ, and earnest wishes for their experience of similar happiness.

Many are deeply indebted to Methodism, to whom Methodism in turn owes little, or nothing. Some, even of those who through the teachings of her pulpits have been led into paths of peace, have ranged themselves beside those who affect to deny the right of the very men, through whose agency they were blessed, to preach the very truths which came to them from the lips of these men with power, and with the demonstration of the Spirit. So did not Alexander Anderson. 'Unpopular as Methodism,' remarks Dr. Richey, 'then was in the community, and likely as an intimate and open association with it was to expose him to the charge of enthusiasm and imbecility, and to impede his promotion to a situation of greater emolument under government, he was not the man, for any temporal considerations, to suppress his convictions of truth, or falter in his allegiance to Christ.' Respecting one of the aristocratic homes of the city, at which he had been a frequent and welcome visitor, he wrote, 'I have not visited there since the ceremony. Religion has dissolved the connection. I found a constraint in my mind to leave the Church, where I received little or no spiritual comfort, and to join the Methodists, whom I have long desired to see in this place. This step has given universal offence,—and in particular to —— who is a rigid Churchman,—but, blessed be God, who allowed me not to confer with flesh and blood. I would gladly, he added, 'describe to you my condition, my comfort, my bliss, but you cannot, unless changed in

heart, be able to comprehend it, for it is spiritually discerned.' Even by his valued correspondent, John Newton, the tidings which he expected would afford great pleasure were received with expressions indicative of regret, rather than of satisfaction. The poet-pastor who had written,

'Tis a point I long to know,
Oft it causes anxious thought;
Do I love my God, or no,
Am I his, or am I not?

was not prepared to sympathize fully with his friend in the joy caused by the direct witness of the Spirit of God with his spirit, to his acceptance as a child of God; nor to rejoice in his union with those who made the privilege of all believers to enjoy this direct assurance of the forgiveness of sin, a prominent article of their creed.

From the day that Mr. Anderson's name was enrolled as a member of the Methodist Church, he was, as one who knew him well remarked, 'both as to strength and ornament, a pillar in the church. For many years he officiated as a leader, and local preacher. His gifts in the pulpit were not of the most attractive character, but the veneration which his character inspired, always ensured for him an attentive and respectful hearing.' He was spared to the church in Halifax until 1833, when his friends missed him from his place at the door of the church, at the quarterly love feast; and from his seat beneath the pulpit, at the communion services. He died as he had lived, proclaiming that 'God is love.'

While Garrettson had been thus engaged at Shelburne and Barrington, and Black at Halifax, in the summer of 1786, Cromwell had been at Windsor, and John Mann at Liverpool. William Grandin, a young man, formerly of New Jersey, where he had become a Methodist, had also been called into the ministry, and sent to Cumberland.

While returning to Halifax in the autumn, Garrettson marked with pleasure the growth of the little church at Liverpool. At his first visit, in 1785, he had administered the Lord's Supper to seven communicants; he had now the pleasure of distributing the memorials of his Saviour's death to no less than sixty persons.

A singular and sad incident, illustrative of the view which our fathers in some cases took of the privilege of the 'benefit of clergy,' took place in connection with John Mann's ministry at Liverpool, during the summer. This was the presence, during the morning and afternoon services on a certain Sabbath, of a prisoner, convicted of the murder of his wife at Port Mouton, and under sentence of execution on the following day. Properly guarded, the prisoner was conveyed from the jail to the church, and placed in a position in which he might be directly addressed by the preacher. 'Mr. Mann,' says an eye-witness, 'addressed himself to him in both discourses, in a very affecting manner.' The next day the unhappy man was hanged on the common, in the rear of the church. John Mann attended him to the scaffold, and thought him a true penitent.

Arrangements had been made, in the spring of 1786, for a Conference during the autumn of that year. The ministers and laymen in Nova Scotia, had, for some time, felt the disadvantages arising from their irregular mode of working, consequent upon the largeness of the field, and the smallness of the number of laborers. They had also looked, with a sad consciousness of their inability to occupy it, at the inviting field which New Brunswick, with a population of many thousands, presented to the Christian laborer. Letters from Dr. Coke, informing them that he expected to reach Nova Scotia late in September, or early in October, with one or two

missionaries to be stationed in the province, led to the appointment of a meeting at Halifax, early in October.

The sessions of the Conference were begun on the 10th of that month. To the great disappointment of the preachers and their friends, Dr. Coke failed to make his appearance. No tidings reached them in explanation of his absence. The lateness of the season, and the difficulty of travelling, made postponement impossible; they therefore continued the sessions for four days. Their deliberations were characterized by unanimity of sentiment, and brotherly love. Garrettson and Black were appointed to the immense Halifax circuit, extending from Halifax to Digby; John Mann was re-appointed to Liverpool; Cromwell and James Mann were placed in charge of Shelburne and Barrington; and Grandin was sent back to Cumberland.

Five hundred and ten members were reported in connection with the missions in Nova Scotia, in the English Minutes of 1786. According to a letter from Garrettson to Asbury, forty of these were in Halifax; sixty at Horton, Windsor, Cornwallis, and the adjacent neighborhoods; nearly one hundred at Annapolis, Granville, and Digby; forty at Liverpool; about fifty at Cumberland; and between two and three hundred at Shelburne. The results of the toil of the summer, highly successful in several circuits, had been reaped after these returns had been forwarded.

Finances were low, and allowances small. Sixteen dollars per quarter, in addition to board and lodging, was the amount of each itinerant's claim. A large margin was thus left for the exercise of Christian principle, in those circuits in which married preachers were stationed. The 'Contingent Fund' had been nearly exhausted by the purchase of two horses for the use of the itinerants.

Dr. Coke failed to reach Nova Scotia, defeated in his purpose by a power against which it was impossible to contend. With John Clark and William Hammet, appointed to Newfoundland; and William Warrenner, appointed to remain in Nova Scotia for a short time, at the expiration of which he was to proceed to Antigua, Dr. Coke embarked at Gravesend, on the 24th of September, for Halifax. Head winds and stormy weather so delayed them that they did not see the Land's-End until the 12th of October. The voyage proved most disastrous and perilous. On the 24th, when in mid-ocean, the vessel became leaky; on the 27th, the first of a succession of gales began, which increased in fury, until, to use the captain's words, it seemed, at one time, as if the clouds, the air, and the sea were all commingled. The Doctor and his three companions in black became objects of strong suspicion on the part of the captain, who, at length, almost frantic, rushed into the cabin, seized the Doctor's papers, which he threw overboard, and then laid hold on the Doctor himself. The latter fared better than Jonah in the hands of the shipmaster of Joppa. The captain gave him a few hearty shakes, accompanied by hard words, which indicated, without any possibility of mistake. the nature of his views and feelings. On the night of the 4th of December, the storm seemed to gather new strength, and the ship oozed at every joint, as if in her last agony. A council was held, at which the captain expressed his despair of reaching Halifax. The unanimous opinion was, that their only chance of safety lay in running before the wind to the West Indies. No sooner was the head of the vessel turned in that direction, than, as the Doctor remarked, 'it seemed as if angels blew the gale.' The storm abated, the clouds broke away, and the winds and waves bore

the shattered ship, and her living freight, gently onward to Antigua. On that island, the missionaries landed on the morning of Christmas, and, walking up the town of St. George's, met John Baxter, the solitary Methodist lay-laborer, on his way to conduct service in the rude chapel, which he had nearly built with his own hands.[8]

[8] Etheridge's 'Life of Coke,' pp. 159-164.

CHAPTER VII.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE FIRST CONFERENCE IN 1786, TO THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE YEAR 1790-1.

Use of the press by Methodists. Influence of Fletcher's works. John Allison. Toils and successes of the preachers during the winter of 1786-7. Return of Garrettson and Cromwell to the United States. Review of Garrettson's labors in Nova Scotia. Charles White. Arrival of William Jessop. State of the work in the Province during the summer of 1787. John Black. Second Conference. Arrival of James Wray. His appointment as Superintendent by Wesley. Political excitement in the Province. Wesley's views respecting ordination. Ordination of William Black, John Mann and James Mann at Philadelphia. Resignation of the Superintendency by Wray, and appointment of Black to the office. Irregular Itinerancy of that day. Growth of the work. Opening of Methodist Church in Sackville, N.B. Visit of Thomas Owens, a West Indian Missionary, at Liverpool. Thomas Whitehead. Removal of Wray to the West Indies. James Mann at New York. Wesley's death. Meeting of Black with Coke at Philadelphia.

The value of the press, as an aid to the work of the preacher, has been recognized by the leaders of Methodism from the earliest period of her history. To Benson, one of the first of his preachers addicted to literary labors, Wesley wrote; 'Simplify religion, and every part of learning.' What Wesley advised, he had previously practiced. His literary labors alone might have filled up the space allotted to several men of ordinary energy. He was the founder of the system of cheap publications, sustained by large sales, so successfully carried out a the present day. Two thirds of the numerous articles published by him, previously to 1756, on grammar, logic, medicine, music, poetry, theology and philosophy were sold by him at less than a shilling each, and more than one fourth at a penny. To the number of these he con-

tinued to add to the close of his life. The whole of his writings, at the time of his death, although many of them had passed through ten or twenty editions, could not be purchased for less than ten guineas, though published at prices 'surprisingly' cheap.[1] At the beginning of 1778 he issued the first number of the 'Arminian Magazine,' which, while under his own management, bore a closer resemblance to the more popular religious monthlies of the present day, than it has done under the control of his successors. Under the title of the 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' it is now the oldest religious periodical in the world, having entered into the hundredth year of its publication. Wesley's efforts to circulate his publications were in accordance with the energy shown in their preparation. To his itinerants, he said, 'See that every society is supplied with books, some of which ought to be in every house.'

The founders of American Methodism were careful in this respect to follow Wesley's example. Robert Williams, one of the first lay-evangelists, printed and circulated Wesley's sermons. His enterprise, Jesse Lee states, 'resulted in great advantage to religion, by opening the way for the preachers, where these had never been before.' After the prohibition of independent publication on the part of the preachers, by the first Conference in 1773, it became necessary that they should be united in the effort to use the press for religious purposes. At the Conference of 1789, John Dickens was therefore designated Book Agent. At Philadelphia, during that year, he began the work of the Methodist Book Concern, attending at the same time to his duties as preacher and pastor. That establishment, removed at a later period to New York, is now the largest religious publishing house in the world.

[1] Stevens' 'History of the M. E. Church,' vol. 4, p. 457-460.

Some initial steps in the same direction were taken by the ministers of the small Provincial Conference, during the winter of 1786. Few in number, unable to supply 'half the places' where they were wanted, and with little hope of obtaining helpers from Asbury, in the room of those driven away with Coke by the tempest to the West Indies, they resolved to call to their aid the help of the press. They were also led to take this step by the irregularity of communication with Britain, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining Wesley's publications, when needed. An order, forwarded by Garrettson to Wesley, indicates the character of the mental food on which the spiritual life of the Methodists of that day grew strong and vigorous. 'The 'Saint's Rest,' and hymn books are wanted,' said Garrettson; 'the small select hymn-book would sell; some pieces displaying the nature, manner and doctrine of the Methodists; your journal and sermons; and Mr. Walsh's life. Dear Mr. Fletcher's works have been a blessing in Cornwallis and Horton.' In March, 1787, Garrettson informed Wesley that he had not received any books since his arrival in the province. 'We thought it expedient,' he added 'to have about fifty pounds worth printed, as the printer was at leisure this winter. He printed several tracts very reasonably. The printer, thus at leisure, was John Howe, the father of the late Hon. Joseph Howe. From the bill, it appears that twenty-two pounds of the sum named were expended in the reprinting of 'Wesley's Short History of the people called Methodists.' Wesley's sermon on the death of Mr. Fletcher' was also printed by Mr. Howe about the same time, and was sold at sixpence per copy. Wesley wrote, 'I do not blame you for printing these tracts.' The itinerants were not wholly responsible for their circula-

tion. For a number of years Alexander Anderson kept a small supply of standard works and tracts for sale, and each Methodist seemed to consider himself in duty bound to promote the circulation of these as much as possible.

Few men have so clearly illustrated by personal example the height of saintliness which man may reach on earth, or so successfully presented by the pen the scriptural doctrine that Christ died for all, as Wesley's counsellor and co-adjutor, John Fletcher, the vicar of Madeley, in Shropshire. The case of Dr. Rush, the eminent philanthropist of Philadelphia, is but one of many which attest the influence of Fletcher's writings. Joshua Marsden, with whom the readers of these pages will soon become familiar, witnessed the funeral of that celebrated man, and heard from the lips of Thomas F. Sargent, then a pupil of Rush, a deeply interesting statement. Sargent, having heard the Doctor speak upon a subject, more largely treated by Fletcher, asked him if he had met with the writings of the latter. 'Yes,' replied the Doctor, 'I know the writings of that great and good man well: and can assure you that he was the first that knocked the shackles of absolute, unconditional predestination from my mind. Before I read his works, I could not pray for all men, but he set me at liberty; and if I meet him in heaven, I will thank him and say, "You, Mr. Fletcher, gave me just views of God's love to the human family."'

Among those reported by Garrettson to have been benefitted, in Cornwallis and Horton, by the reading of Fletcher's writings, was John Allison, of the former township. Reference has already been made to the conversion of his sister, Mrs. Jonathan Crane. John Allison had removed from his first provin-

cial home, overlooking the beautiful valley of the Gaspereaux, to Cornwallis, where he had married a sister of the Rev. Hugh Graham, the Presbyterian minister of the township. Through the influence of early training, and of later associations, his predilections were all in favor of Calvinistic opinions. A volume of Fletcher's works, which had found its way into a solitary cottage in New Jersey, whence it had been brought among their household goods by a family of loyalist exiles, fell into the hands of John Allison. The volume was read by him in the spirit of a thoughtful inquirer. He rose from its perusal an Arminian in sentiment, and abandoned those limited views of the atonement he had been educated to hold, for the scriptural doctrine of a salvation through which an antidote is provided as far-reaching in its influence as the evil it is intended to counteract. At this crisis in his religious history true friends sought to lead him to Jesus. Among these was Alexander Anderson, who, in 1787, sent him one of the tracts lately printed, 'as a testimony,' so he wrote, 'of the sincere regard I have for you as a person concerned in the salvation of your soul.' Mr. Allison and his wife acted in accordance with their conscientious convictions, and became members of the Methodist Church. From Cornwallis, he removed to Horton, and thence, in 1804, to the 'Mantua' farm at Newport, where he continued to reside until his death in 1821. For many years he represented the township of Newport in the House of Assembly. As a magistrate, he sought so effectively to remove rather than cherish causes of discord among his neighbors, that, at a period when the limited number of magistrates made the position of those officials one of greater emolument than at present, his fees scarcely provided his office with paper. In the work of

the British and Foreign Bible Society he was deeply interested. The last public meeting he attended was held for the promotion of its interests; and during his last sickness, he called his sons to his bedside, and earnestly requested them to use their influence in behalf of the Society. His final illness was sudden and severe. Medical skill soon proved to be in vain. To his family he gave the assurance that the bitterness of death was over. Soon after, he passed away, 'full of that calm and peace of mind which a humble confidence in the merits of his Redeemer, joined with a lively emotion, may be supposed to produce.' The Rev. John Sprott, an eccentric, but highly respected Presbyterian minister, from whose estimate of Mr. Allison's character, and account of his death, published in a journal of that day, quotations have just been given, was his warm friend. In one of Mr. Sprott's latest visits to Newport, he baptized a child, to whom the parents had given the name of his old acquaintance. The baptism over, the venerable minister ascended the pulpit stairs, repeating as he walked up, 'Very good name, very good name, very good name!' To the thoughtful reading of the works of Wesley and Fletcher, the Methodist fathers owed largely the mature character of the piety they possessed, and the ability they evinced to give with 'meekness and fear,' to all inquirers, 'a reason of the hope that was in them.' Their children would be better prepared to oppose the 'divers and strange doctrines' of the present day, by the logic of the lip, and to silence gainsayers by the more powerful logic of the life, if the works named, with others of a kindred character, were more frequently under their eye, as well as upon their library shelves. Enfeebled religious character must be the inevitable result of the too frequent use of literary and religious sweetmeats.

During the winter of 1786-7, the ministers of the extensive Halifax circuit were cheered by a revival at Horton. At that place, and at Windsor and Cornwallis, Garrettson spent the greater part of the winter, exchanging apppointments occasionally with Black, on whom devolved the care of the society at Halifax. The people of Horton had acquired an unenviable distinction for wickedness; their attention to public and private worship now became equally prominent. Many were converted during the winter. One person, who laughingly entered a room where Black took for his text, 'Ye will not come unto me that ye might have life,' was seized with such strong conviction of sin, that for a time she lost her reason, receiving it again with the exulting joy of the forgiven. 'I have had a blessed winter among them,' wrote Garrettson, in March, 1787. 'If the work continue much longer as it has done, the greater part of the people will be brought in. It would cause your heart to rejoice, to know what a deadly wound Antinomianism has received in the town of Horton. My dear Master has given me one of the first lawyers in Cornwallis, and his lady.' At Halifax the work advanced slowly, though the congregations steadily increased in number. In the church erected by Marchinton, and 'famous,' as Garrettson calls it, in more senses than one, Black preached for the first time on the morning of Easter Sunday, 1787. Tidings of a highly pleasing character reached the brethren near the capital, from Liverpool, where John Mann had remained during the winter. A glimpse of the work there may be obtained from the journal of a Congregationalist, who frequently worshipped with the Methodists, with whom some years later he united in church-membership. 'At evening,' he wrote, on the 24th of February, 'I attended meeting with the Methodist

society at Mr. William Smith's. Many young people were praising God for pardoning mercy. I understand near ten persons have professed that they have received manifestations of the pardon of sin, and acceptance, this week,—six or seven of them in one night,—and many more are under conviction. A most remarkable time among the people.' In the course of a few weeks forty persons were added to the society, seventeen of whom professed to have experienced conversion. From Shelburne Cromwell reported depressing influences, arising from the prevalence of disease and the failure of business in that town, destined to fall with haste equal to that with which it had risen. Failing health had abridged Cromwell's power to work, yet at Cape Negro he reported a 'blessed revival.' At Barrington, during the winter, James Mann made full proof of his ministry. The people assembled from every quarter to hear the gospel, and about fourteen, among whom were several, notorious for 'all manner of wickedness,' received pardon of sin. Thirty years later, when, from the border-land, James Mann reviewed his life-work, he wrote from the Shelburne circuit, of which at that time Barrington formed a part; 'Here began my Gospel labors, and in the first year of my itinerancy not less than fifty members were added to the society. And what has afforded me peculiar pleasure, is that most of the persons who professed to experience a happy change at that time have continued ornaments to their profession to this day.' Early in March, Garrettson reported Grandin to have returned to his friends. Black, in a letter written to Grandin himself, a little later, refers to his having been 'so long detained at the Island.' Grandin was with his brethren at the Conference in the previous autumn. It is evident that he resumed his work in the Cumberland circuit in the

spring, with energy, and with clearly marked results. 'Several young persons,' writes Edward Dixon, 'were awakened, and some were brought to a knowledge of the truth. Some backsliders were also restored, and the society was reorganized. Under Grandin's ministry, the work in the Cumberland circuit presented a more encouraging aspect than it had done for several years.

The ministers who met at Halifax in the autumn of 1786, were destined to be widely scattered in the course of a few months. After a short visit to the southern coast, Garrettson returned to Halifax, and on the 10th of April, 1787, left that place for Boston, to meet Dr. Coke, who had requested his presence at the approaching Conference at Baltimore. His friends in Nova Scotia feared that the loud calls for Christian laborers in his native country would prevent his return. The members of the little society at Windsor, at his departure from that place, accompanied him some distance out of the village, and bade him farewell with tears, 'sorrowing, most of all, lest they should see his face no more.' The fears of Garrettson's friends were not without reason. Both Coke and Asbury had written to him, requesting him to allow himself to be ordained Superintendent over the work in the British North American provinces, and in the West Indies. Their request, which was in accordance with Wesley's wish, did not meet with a favorable response on the part of Garrettson. 'The Lord knows,' he wrote, 'I am willing to do anything in my power for the furtherance of the Gospel; but as to confining myself to Nova Scotia, or any part of the world, I could not; a good God does not require it of me.' From this position he seems to have receded, for a few months later he wrote in his journal; 'It was with reluctance I came into this province, but now I feel a willingness to labour and suffer

in the cause of Christ among this people.' At the Conference, which has commenced on the 1st of May, 1789, at Baltimore, Dr. Coke made known Wesley's wish that Garrettson should be appointed Superintendent over the work throughout the British dominions in America, and received the unanimous consent of the assembled ministers. On being informed of the appointment, by Dr. Coke, Garrettson requested permission to defer his answer to the following day. On the morrow he stated his willingness to accept the appointment on certain conditions. He then proposed to visit for a year the provinces and islands to be placed under his charge; and promised, in case his appointment should receive the cordial approval of the ministers and people among whom he was expected to labor, to return at the next Conference, to receive formal ordination as Superintendent. Satisfied with his proposal, Dr. Coke gave him a letter, explanatory of his position, to the brethren over whom he was expected to preside; and Garrettson made arrangements to proceed at the close of the Conference to the West Indies, to commence in that quarter his work of 'confirming the churches.' A reconsideration of the subject, led him, however, in a quite different direction. 'What transpired in the Conference during my absence,' said Garrettson, many years after, in his semi-centennial sermon, 'I know not, but I was astonished when the appointments were read, to hear my name mentioned to preside in the peninsula.' The only reason which can be given for this reversal of their action by his brethren, was their unwillingness to separate wholly from themselves a brother so highly beloved.

This decision was deeply regretted by Wesley, and by the ministers in Nova Scotia. Garrettson, during his two years stay in the province, had been in labors

abundant: He had 'traversed the mountains and valleys, frequently on foot, with his knapsack at his back; up and down the Indian paths in the wilderness, where it was inexpedient to take a horse; and had often to wade through the mud and water of morasses; and frequently to satisfy his hunger from his knapsack, to quench his thirst from a brook, and to rest his weary limbs on the leaves of trees.' On one occasion he nearly lost his life in a snow storm. His horse, left by his rider to use his own instinct, carried him to the door of the only house to be seen. Garrettson had just enough strength to dismount, enter the house, and throw himself on a bed, where, plentifully covered with clothing by the children left in charge of the house, he lay for nine hours, almost insensible. At another time, in crossing one of the rivers flowing out of the Bay of Fundy, and into which the tide rushes with great rapidity, he had to put spurs to his horse, and use all possible effort to escape the rapidly approaching wave. Gaining the shore, at a point more accessible than the rest, he outrode the wave, which swept over the back of his horse as he set foot upon the land. An instant later and he would have been swept off like a feather in the tide.[2] Garrettson's former colleagues in Nova Scotia pressed upon him assurances of their regard, and plied him with entreaties to return. Under the pressure he wavered, but after a time finally abandoned all thought of return to the provincial work. The years which he afterwards devoted to his Master's service in his native land, were unusually rich in blessing. 'It may be fairly questioned,' remarks his biographer, 'whether any one minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, or indeed in any other Church, has been instru-

[2] Bangs' 'Life of Garrettson,' p. 163.

mental in the awakening and conversion of more sinners than Garrettson.' After severe suffering, which he bore with entire resignation, he departed in triumph on the 26th of July, 1827. His remains rest near his residence at Rhinebeck, on the banks of the Hudson.

Two months later, Cromwell followed Garrettson to the United States. For some time he had been unequal to the toil and exposure involved in the work of a circuit. Provincial law at that day required all persons, intending to leave the province, to notify certain officials of their purpose, and to give bonds for the payment of any debts for which they might be responsible. On a stray list of such parties, in the office of the Registrar of Deeds at Shelburne, we have seen, under date of June 11th, 1787, the name of James Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell located in 1793, but lived many years, 'an humble, sweet-spirited old minister.'

On the same stray sheet, appeared the name of another, about to sail with Cromwell in the "Lord Middleton," for New York. This was Charles White, whose early failure in business at Shelburne had afforded the Methodists of that town a convenient room for public worship. Mr. White, during his residence at Shelburne, had been the most prominent man among the Methodists, and had been appointed by the government one of a committee, composed of the leading men of the place, for the settlement of the unhappy disputes which had arisen among the inhabitants, concerning the division of lands. The utter failure of business at Shelburne drove him, with thousands of others, out again into the wide world, homeless, if not penniless. In the stampede which took place, men, in many cases, did not dispose of their property—they simply left it. Mr. White reached the newly-settled territory of Kentucky. Bishop As-

bury found him in 1790, at Lexington. Adversity had not helped him. 'Poor Charles White,' wrote the Bishop in his journal, 'ah! how often have I eaten at this man's table in New York, and now he is without property, and without grace. When I parted with him, I asked him if he loved God. He burst into tears, and could scarcely say, 'he did not love God, but he desired it.' In 1793, Asbury met him again. 'I rode through to Lexington,' he wrote, 'and stopped at Charles White's once more. Oh, that God may conduct him safe to glory!' In May, 1802 a merchant at Shelburne petitioned for letters of admintration upon the property of 'Charles White, formerly of Shelburne, late of the United States,' on the ground that no arrangement had been made for the disposition of the estate. It may be presumed that tidings of the close of his chequered career had been received in Shelburne, some time previously to that date.

At the Baltimore Conference of 1788, William Jessop was appointed to labor in Nova Scotia. Woolman Hickson, a devoted young minister, was to accompany him. In June, Jessop reached Shelburne alone, Hickson having remained behind to die. Asbury, impressed by his evidently shattered constitution and pale face, and convinced that consumption was preparing him for an early grave, refused to allow him to accompany Jessop. To Hickson belongs the honor of having formed the first Methodist class in Brooklyn, now the 'city of churches.' His brethren speak of him as a young man of promising genius and considerable preaching ability. Jessop, who loved him as a brother, waited for him as long as he could, and then sailed for his appointed field of labor. Hickson languished for some time, cared for by the Methodists of New York, and died in November, 1788.

No less beloved, through a somewhat longer life, was William Jessop. He was a native of Sussex County, Delaware, a part of the country which Asbury called his 'garden for Methodist preachers.' Asbury preached the funeral sermon of Jessop's mother in 1779. About that time the son experienced conversion, and became a Methodist. His father, who called himself a Quaker, was an ungodly man, who bitterly opposed the religious profession and practice of his son. The latter, very fond of music, and a proficient in the use of the violin, awakened the anger of his father by tuning the instrument, after his conversion, only for the 'sweet songs of Zion.' To turn the son from his religious course, the father excluded him from the house, obliging him to find shelter in a rude cabin on the premises; and to deter him from attendance on Methodist services, allowed him only such clothing as was worn by his slaves. In spite of his rude attire, however, the son continued to attend the prohibited gatherings. When, in 1784, he entered the ministry of the Methodist Church, the father, owner of a large plantation, still continued his opposition, and refused him a horse and the necessary outfit. The latter, his brethren, believing him called to the ministry, supplied out of their own meagre resources. 'He preached like the others I have heard,' wrote a provincial hearer, a few weeks after Jessop's arrival in the province, 'but is the clearest and most distinct speaker.' By his brethren in the United States he is said to have been a man of powerful eloquence.

Part of the month of May was spent by Black at Liverpool. He rejoiced over the state of the work there. On one evening during his visit, ten, for the first time, professed faith in Christ. From Liverpool he returned to Halifax, to resume his labors in that place with fresh

vigor. A few days after his return, a person, previously a servant in his family, cheered him by the intelligence of the attainment of pardon, sought earnestly and with tears. To Dr. Coke he wrote on the 26th of June, 'Our society here is more lively at present than I have ever known it. About fifteen have been added since Brother Garrettson left.' Jessop took charge of the work at Shelburne, devoting a short time to Liverpool. At the latter place, John Mann continued to preach with success. His brother, after returning from Halifax, which he had supplied in Black's absence, remained a short time at Liverpool, and then moved on to Barrington. At Cumberland, Grandin labored with some encouragement. A helper had been raised up in that extensive circuit, in the person of John Black, a brother of the first provincial itinerant. At River Philip, where he had settled, he began to preach to his neighbors, and to the people of the adjoining settlements. 'I know not,' his brother William wrote, 'but the Lord may call you from the intervales as he did Daniel from the sheepfolds, and Amos from the sycamore tree.'

These anticipations were not fully realized. John Black did not become an itinerant; but few, not specially set apart to the work of the ministry, have been more earnest in their efforts to preach the gospel than he. 'Active in his habits,' remarks his brother's biographer, 'and involved, for many years, in the solicitudes and occupations of business, at no time did he permit these to veil from his sight the great end of life, or to seal his lips when he had an opportunity of speaking for God. It was, indeed, a prominent trait in the character of that excellent man, that he evinced the same promptitude and sincerity in responding to the calls of sacred dnty, when under an accumulation of cares, as when exempt

from everything to dissipate or oppress his mind. He was instant in season and out of season; and never more ardent in his zeal, and earnest in his public addresses, than in the closing period of his long and eventful life.' This high estimate of Christian character is fully sustained by the statements of some of the former Methodists of the Wallace circuit, respecting the frequent visits and earnest sermons of one, whom, in the familiar fashion of the olden time, they were accustomed to call 'Jacky Black.' Highly esteemed, during a long life-time, as a Christian man and magistrate, Mr. Black closed a useful career in 1829.

On the 15th of October, 1789, the second Nova Scotia Conference was commenced at Halifax. The members of it were Black, James Mann, Grandin, and Jessop. John Mann did not reach the capital in time to take part in the proceedings. Love and harmony prevailed. During the session, Black received a letter from a friend in New York, containing an account of one of the most remarkable revivals on record, then in progress in the southern part of Virginia. Such intelligence, received during their deliberations upon the best means for the promotion of the work of God, was calculated to excite their hopes, strengthen their faith, and stimulate their zeal in the prosecution of the work to which they were about to re-consecrate all their energies. Five hundred and ten members were reported from Nova Scotia in the English Minutes of the following year.

After the Conference, Grandin left Cumberland, where he was followed by James Mann. The latter was one of the most popular preachers among the early itinerants of Nova Scotia. His labors at Cumberland were well appreciated. Several, who were not members of the society, offered their dwellings to him as preaching-

places, and he labored with some success. Black, at the end of the Conference, left Halifax to spend several weeks in visiting the Societies in other parts of the province, particularly those at Liverpool, Shelburne and Cape Negro. Respecting Halifax, Alexander Anderson wrote, 'There have been several persons convinced, and some converted this summer. I think there is some prospect of a revival. The Methodists, with whom I am connected, have joined a good many in class. I have the greatest reason to bless God I ever went among them.'

The business of the third Nova Scotia Conference was commenced at Halifax, on the 6th of May, 1788. The arrival, early in that year, of an additional preacher, whose name had appeared in the Minutes of the previous year as that of an Elder, or Superintendent, rendered the assembling of the brethren, in the spring, at the earliest possible date, a matter of necessity. The minister, whom the preachers previously in the province were about to meet at Halifax, was the first of a long succession of noble men, who have left Britain, in spite of the ties which bound them to the land of their birth, solely for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the colonists of the Lower Provinces. James Wray, the leader of this band, was received on trial for the ministry, by Wesley, in 1781, and sent to a circuit in Yorkshire. As a mark of esteem and confidence, Wesley placed Wray's name among the hundred names which appear on that Charter of Methodism, the Deed of Declaration, drawn up in 1784, while among the ninety two preachers whose names were not to be found upon the document, were not a few who had travelled from ten, to thrice that number of years.[3] After six years of faithful and successful service in England, Wray volunteered to go

[3] Tyerman's 'Life and Times of John Wesley,' vol. 3, p. 422.

out to Nova Scotia. Wesley accepted the offer, and ordained him to fill the office of Superintendent. 'Mr. Wray,' Wesley wrote to John Mann, in June, 1788, 'is a workman that need not be ashamed. I am glad to hear of his safe arrival. Although he has not much learning, he has what is far better, uprightness of heart, and devotedness to God. I doubt not, but that he and you will be one, and go on your way hand in hand.'

Political excitement at this period ran high in Nova Scotia. Necessity for union in defence of common interests, during the late war, had allayed some jealousies which had previously arisen between the settlers of English origin and those from New England. The arrival, however, at the close of that war, of a large body of loyalists from the revolted colonies, had introduced a new element. Many of the loyalists were men who had exercised a large amount of influence in their former homes. These, in the country of their adoption, claimed, on the ground of their loyalty and losses, a certain recognition which the earlier settlers were not disposed hastily to concede. A rivalry of interests had thus sprung up between the more prominent men of the loyalists, and those of the older inhabitants. The strife between these parties was not confined to the leading men of both sections. Evidences of fermentation in the minds of the people became frequent. At the furiously contested election, in February, 1788, of a member for the county of Halifax, one person was killed, and several were severely wounded. A little later, the impeachment of the Judges of the Supreme Court, Messrs. Deschamps and Brenton, took place, causing intense excitement. These circumstances were by no means favourable to the growth of religious influence.

From their brief Conference, the little band of preac'-

ers went forth, determined amidst the strife of parties to 'mind one thing.' Wray, who, from the time of his arrival until the meeting of the Conference, had labored in several parts of the extensive Halifax circuit, went to Cumberland, where although 'very well received,' his efforts were not attended with such success as had encouraged him in England. Black, leaving the work at Halifax in the care of James Mann, made his way immediately after the Conference to the southern coast of the province, where he spent a month in visiting the settlements between Barrington and Port Medway. During his absence from Halifax the society prospered. Miss Rebecca Lovell, for many years an ornament to the cause of God in that city, was converted under the ministry of James Mann. William Jessop, whose time had been spent almost wholly on the southern coast, proceeded to Liverpool, where he remained until the middle of August, when he sailed thence for the United States.

The position of those itinerants who had commenced their ministry in Nova Scotia had, hitherto, been an anomalous one. Their claims to be regarded as ministers, according to the threefold test of 'grace, gifts and fruit,' had been well sustained. 'As long as these three marks concur in any,' Wesley and his friends, clerical and lay, had said at the Conference in 1746, 'we believe that he is called to preach. These we receive as a sufficient proof, that he is moved thereto by the Holy Ghost.' In the view of their friends, and according to the conclusions of the great majority of Protestants throughout the world, they thus possessed the great qualification for the ministry: 'moved of the Holy Ghost' and 'called of God,' they were, therefore, by Divine right, as legitimate preachers of the Gospel as any in the world. The his-

torical theory, on which many base their claim to the sole right to preach the Word, and administer the sacraments of the Church, and to exercise lordship over God's heritage, is but a feeble thing. In view of the darkness which overhangs the history of the middle ages; of the transfers of spiritual offices from one to another, from motives which in many cases will not bear the light; of the illiterate character of the early clergy; of the frequent opportunities for deception; and of the almost numberless contingencies on which the integrity of such a succession must rest, he cannot be blamed, who looking at the subject with the keen scrutiny which men generally apply to the history of the dim past, declares the 'uninterrupted succession' to be, in the words of Wesley, 'a fable which no man ever did or can prove.[4] The less important, but appropriate authorization to administer the sacraments, conferred by the Church in the formal act of ordination, had been received by but one of the five preachers remaining in the province at the commencement of 1789. The course adopted by Wesley in relation to the American Methodists, in 1784, had placed this authorization within their reach. That they did not sooner avail themselves of the opportunity affords positive proof that they were not under the control of feelings of personal ambition. The conviction, however, that their usefulness was seriously restrained, and the sphere of their influence manifestly limited, by their anomalous position, led them early in 1789, to give the subject of ordination more serious thought.

From no sense of inability, but from a wish to interfere as little as possible with the arrangements of the National Church, Wesley hesitated for many years to to take a step which it must be felt by every impartial

[4] Wesley's 'Works' vol. 7. p 312.

observer, involved actual separation from that Church. Providential indications, in Wesley's view, were of inferior value only to revelation itself. Guided as he believed by Providence, he had accepted the services of a lay ministry. His conviction of the value of that ministry had deepened. All his misgivings concerning the employment of men, not yet officially set apart, had passed away. He awaited further guidance of the same character, hoping meanwhile that Methodism would reform the National Church. The question was asked in 1746, 'Why do we not use more form and solemnity in the receiving a new laborer? An answer was furnished in the minutes of that year. 'We purposely decline it,' said the Conference: 'First, because there is something of stateliness in it; Second, because it is not expedient to make haste; we desire to barely follow Providence.'

It has been asserted by some, that Wesley found means to justify himself in the ordination of his ministers, only when he had resolved upon the adoption of that course. This unworthy imputation is but one of many, respecting Wesley, which have passed, without careful examination, from writer to writer, accepted by each. It is, at least, to be hoped, that the frequent repetition of statements of this character, repeatedly shown to be false, arises from no more reprehensible cause than that of ignorance.

The official designations of 'bishop,' and 'presbyter,' are, it is evident, applied in the New Testament to the same individuals. Thus, the 'presbyters' of the church of Ephesus are addressed by St. Paul as 'bishops,' or 'overseers;' and the parties to be ordained as 'presbyters,' at Crete, are immediately called 'bishops.'[5] The interchangeable character of these appellations, as seen

[5] Acts 20: 17, 28. Titus 1: 5. 7.

in the charge of St. Peter, to the elders or 'presbyters,' to perform the duties of 'bishops,' is no less evident. Besides this order, but one other is mentioned, that of deacons, whose duties had respect mainly to the temporal interests of the churches.[6]

"'Presbyter' appears appropriately," says Dr. Richey, in an excellent article on this subject, 'to denote the rank or office itself, and 'bishop' to intimate the duties that devolve upon those who sustain that rank. According to the most learned of ecclesiastical historians, Neander, 'the name of "presbyters," by which this office was at first designated, was transferred to the Christian Church from the Jewish synagogues. But now, when the churches had spread themselves among the heathen of Grecian origin, there was associated with this appellation, thus borrowed from the civil and religious constitution of the Jews, another name, more connected with the mode of designating social relations among the Greeks, and better adapted to denote the official duties connected with the dignity of presbyters. This was the appellation "episcopoi" or "overseers" over the whole Church, and over all its affairs; just as in the Attic civil administration, those who were sent out to organize the states dependent upon Athens, were called 'episcopoi;' and just as this seems to have become generally current in the language of civil life, to denote any kind of governing superintendence in the public administration.' Nothing can be plainer than that, notwithstanding this shade of difference in the import of these appellations, they designate one and the same office, since, as we have sufficiently proved, they are used interchangeably by the apostles as being synonymous. It was not until the age following that of the apostles, if so early, that

[6] 1st. Peter 5 : 1, 2.

the person who presided in the deliberations of the presbyters was distinctly entitled 'episcopos,' and then he was regarded not as superior to the rest in rank, but merely as 'primus inter pares,' the first among equals." [7]

Of his early errors respecting this subject Wesley had gradually been cured. In his earlier ministry he had been convinced, by Lord King's 'Account of the Primitive Church,' 'that bishops and presbyters are of one order,' in 1756, he wrote, respecting his former belief in the Episcopal form of Church government, as prescribed in Scripture;' 'This opinion, which I once zealously espoused, I have been heartily ashamed of, ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's "Irenicon." I think he has unanswerably proved, that neither Christ nor His apostles prescribe any particular form of church government; and that the plea of Divine right, for diocesan episcopacy, was never heard of in the primitive church.' [8] Again, in 1761, in a letter to a friend, he repeated that Stillingfleet had fully convinced him, that to believe that none but episcopal ordination was valid, 'was an entire mistake.' [9] And again, in 1780, he shocked the high church bigotry of his brother, by declaring, 'I verily believe I have as good a right to ordain, as to administer the Lord's Supper.' [10]

At length a period arrived, when guided, as he believed, by farther indications of a providential character, Wesley deemed it proper to act upon his long-cherished convictions. His first act, on breaking through the restraints which had so long fettered him, was the ordination, in 1784, of Thomas Coke, as Superintendent

[7] 'Memoir of Black,' p. 247.

[8] Wesley's 'Works,' vol. 13, p. 200.

[9] Ibid, p. 223.

[10] Ibid, vol. 12, p. 137.—Tyerman's 'Life and Times of Wesley.' Vol. 3, p. 430.

over the work in America, and of Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as elders among the societies in that country, lately separated from Britain, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper.

"It has indeed been proposed,' wrote Wesley, at the end of a somewhat lengthy statement of his reasons for the adoption of this course, 'to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object. 1. I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one; but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us! 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the State and the English Hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty, simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church, and we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty, wherewith God hath so strangely set them free.' To the answer, of which the paragraph quoted forms a part, Wesley appended a significant note; 'If any one is minded to dispute about Diocesan Episcopacy, he may dispute, but I have better work.' [11]

Soon after, Wesley ordained several ministers for Scotland, England, and the colonies. Among the latter was James Wray. Black, with John and James Mann, now resolved to attend the Conference at Philadelphia, to obtain ordination there. A deep religious interest, shown by some of the troops in the garrison at Halifax, caused Black to doubt the propriety of leaving his circuit. His scruples being overruled, the three sailed on

[11] 'Minutes of Conference, 1785.

the 7th of May, 1789, in a vessel of Philip Marchinton's, and reached Philadelphia on the 19th of the same month. On that and on the following day they were formally set apart to the work of the ministry, their ordination parchments being signed by Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, Wray had reached Philadelphia a few days previously. In the course of a few weeks all returned to their appointed posts of duty in Nova Scotia, strengthened for new effort by intercourse with their brethren in the United States. 'The Conference here,' wrote a layman to a friend in the province, 'was a very solemn time. Mr. Asbury and the Doctor, and all the preachers, appeared much engaged for souls. 'The profiting of the newly-ordained ministers at once became visible. Soon after their return, Alexander Anderson wrote; 'The preachers' visit to the States has been blessed to them and to us. There is a sensible revival among us.' A month later, he wrote, 'Several have been brought to a saving knowledge of God.'

During the proceeding year, some differences had arisen between one or two of the brethren, and James Wray, who, by Wesley's appointment, had assumed the general charge of the work in the provinces. Faults had probably existed on both sides. In a postscript to to a letter addressed to James Mann, in February 1789. Wesley wrote; 'Alas! my brother, one just from Halifax informs me that they made objections to James Wray, that he is an Englishman! O, American gratitude! Lord, I appeal to thee.' Wesley had, it is probable, been misinformed. There can be little doubt that any complaint against the Superintendent, on the part of his brethen, was not on the ground of his being an Englishman, but because, with English determination, he sought to enforce rigidly, in a new and thinly settled country,

certain rules, which could not in all cases be carried out in the country districts of Britain. On the other hand, the reply of Black, to a 'sharp, severe letter' from Wray, while written in an admirable spirit, leaves room for the supposition of a certain looseness in the management of the work, a matter of small surprise, when the lack of training on the part of the preachers, and the immense extent of the field in which they carried out their roving commission, are considered. A friendly consultation resulted in the restoration of harmony, but did not prevent Wray from requesting Dr. Coke to relieve him of his responsibility, by the appointment of another in his stead. Black was immediately appointed to succeed him, as Superintendent of the work in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. He was with difficulty persuaded to assume the charge, but accepted it in deference to the wishes of the preachers and stewards.

It is worthy of note, that another cause, than those already named, was calculated to prevent harmonious co-operation between a Superintendent, educated under Wesley's thorough training, and the preachers in the provincial work. The success of the itinerant system demands, on the part of each man who ranges himself under it, the entire subordination of personal interests to the general good. He must act independently of local ties; it is sometimes even required of those to whom large fields are committed for spiritual culture, that 'they that have wives be as though they had none.' The man who is not prepared to make concessions should step aside. The denial of his demands must cause heart-burnings; the indulgence of them must make the working of the system resemble the movements of ill-assorted machinery. From causes which were in part unavoidable, the itinerancy, at this period, existed

in name rather than in fact. Each of the senior preachers had some special locality at which his family continued to reside. Halifax became the head-quarters of Black, in 1786, and with rare and short intervals, continued to be the residence of his family until his death. At Liverpool, for a few years, and afterwards at Newport, John Mann's family found an undisturbed home; another, soon to be introduced to the reader, never ceased to regard St. Stephen as his 'abiding-place;' and even James Mann, throughout life a bachelor, remained as true to Shelburne, his first provincial home, as the needle to the pole. The appointments of the brethren named were made in view of these circumstances, and the stations of those who from time to time were brought from abroad, were adjusted to suit those of their senior, or married brethren. From their fixed centres, these settled pastors, for such several of them really were, made frequent excursions, or interchanges, for a few weeks, and, occasionally, for a few months. From this partial adoption of the itinerant system resulted many of the disadvantages of the itinerancy, with but few of the advantages which may be urged in favor of a settled pastorate. It was not strange that, under these circumstances, Wray, who had doubtless won the high regard shown him by Wesley, by his attention to discipline, should wish to resign his position. Black, accustomed to the working of the irregular machinery, was better prepared to assume its management.

Black, on his return from Philadelphia, proceeded on a tour through the country, leaving James Mann at Halifax, until the autumn. To the pleasure derived from the usual visits of the ministry, by the members of the small Methodist churches scattered through the

province, was now added that of the more frequent administration of the Lord's Supper. The importance attached to these services, then so rare in many neighborhoods, can scarcely be imagined. The sacramental service, and the love-feast which usually followed it, were seasons of holy delight, not only to those who dwelt in the immediate vicinity of the church, school-room, or dwelling, in which the services were held, but to many others who came from adjacent neighborhoods, to share with them the rare privilege. A note, written during Black's first visit to Horton after his ordination, is illustrative of the wide-spread interest felt at such seasons. 'At the desire of Mr. Black,' wrote James N. Shannon, of Horton, to Alexander Anderson of Halifax, 'I write you, to let you know that he expects to administer the Lord's Supper at Windsor, on Sunday next. It is his desire that you should meet him there on that day, if your business will permit, at which time he expects some friends from Horton will attend.' Upon Black's return to Halifax in the autumn, James Mann went to Cumberland, where he remained through out the winter. 'His assiduous labors,' writes Edward Dixon, 'were attended with some degree of success. Believers were quickened and encouraged, and some others were awakened.' The effort made by the Congregationalists of Liverpool, in the summer of 1789, to obtain a pastor for their church, with the offer of a good sum towards the expenses of his family, made to John Mann by the Methodists of Newport, led that minister, at the time in straitened circumstances, to remove in December from the former to the latter circuit. According to a report made by Black to Wesley at the close of the year, things remained much as they were at Horton;' at Windsor 'there were some additions;' while at Liver-

pool and Shelburne, in consequence of the rapid decrease of population at the latter place, 'some loss had been experienced.' At Halifax, the number of members in society had increased in the course of the year from sixty to one hundred. Twenty had found peace within eight months. Many of the members were said to be 'steady, lively souls.' 'How has God changed the scene,' said Black, 'since I came here in 1786. The society is now eight times larger, and eight times more serious and spiritual.' Five hundred and seventy-five members were reported from the province at the close of the year.

James Mann, who had left Cumberland in the spring of 1790, returned to that circuit in the summer, and soon after his arrival opened the first Methodist church, and first Protestant place of worship at Sackville, N. B. His text on that occasion was from Proverbs 9, 1-4. Previously to the erection of this church, services had been held in school-rooms, private dwellings, and sometimes in barns. In October he returned to Shelburne, to take the place of Wray, Thomas Whitehead succeeding him at Cumberland. The departure of the candidate, whom the Congregationalists of Liverpool had with great difficulty obtained from the United States, for the supply of their church, led Wray, who had spent the previous year at Shelburne and Barington, to revisit that town. He was cordially received, and his preaching highly appreciated. In September he left the southern coast. During the autumn of 1790, the people of Liverpool were favored with a visit of several weeks from Thomas Owens, a successful West Indian missionary, who had come northward in a vessel belonging to Liverpool, for the benefit of his health. Dr. Coke has recorded with delight, how a year or two later, Owens had refused an offer from the government of the

Island of Grenada, of a living worth eight hundred pounds, salary and fees, and ordination by the Bishop of London, choosing rather to remain a preacher to the slaves. Grandin followed Wray at Liverpool, and labored there for a year, with his usual energy and success. The Newlights having taken possession of the Congregational meeting-house, Grandin, with a much larger congregation, was obliged to conduct services in a schoolroom, which could accommodate but a part of his hearers. The dissatisfaction caused by the occupancy of the larger building by the smaller congregation, was removed at a meeting of pew holders, by a resolution to rent the church to the highest bidders. The larger sum was offered by the Methodists, who at once took possession of it.

The name of Thomas Whitehead, in later days a patriarch of the Canadian Conference, first appears in the Minutes of 1790. He was a native of Dutchess County, New York, where he was born in 1762. In the eighteenth year of his age he experienced conversion, and three years later entered the ministry, under the direction of the New York Conference. After three years spent in the neighborhood of Albany and New York, he came to Nova Scotia. His name appears on the Minutes of 1790, in connection with the Cumberland circuit, on which he followed James Mann in the autumn of that year. Among the early itinerants of Nova Scotia he held a good position. His early religious convictions are said to have been deep and strongly marked, and his experience of salvation by faith, clear and undoubted. His physical stature was noble, and his deportment gentlemanly. Notwithstanding a slight impediment in his speech, his pulpit talents were regarded as of a superior order.[12]

[12] Canadian 'Minutes,' 1846.

The connection of James Wray with the work in Nova Scotia ceased in 1791. In the spring of that year he was sent to the Island of St. Vincent. In a letter, written a year after his arrival, to an elect lady of Shelburne, he expressed a hope to meet her 'ere long in Shelburne or in England.' 'If not,' he added, 'without doubt in glory.' Not long after the dispatch of the letter he finished his course. Robert Barry calls him 'a very faithful laborer in the Lord's vineyard.' His brethren in England, in their brief notice of his death, in the Minutes of 1793, state that 'he closed his steady career, in the Island of St. Vincent, resigning his soul into the hands of his faithful Creator, with all that resignation, peace, and holy joy, which might be expected from a father in Christ.'

A desire to see his native place, and to meet his brethren in the United States, led to the absence also of James Mann, during the year 1791-2. An appointment was given him for that year in the city of New York, as a colleague of Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Morrell,—men with whom it was no small honor to be associated.

One event of the year 1791 was of deep and wide-spread interest. On the 2nd of March, John Wesley rested from his unequalled labors. His old age had been a singularly happy one. He had outlived most of his early contemporaries, friends as well as foes, yet he seemed to dwell in an atmosphere of constant sunshine. He toiled to the last. Henry Crabbe Robinson heard him preach at the age of eighty seven, when a minister stood on each side supporting him, and his feeble voice could scarcely be heard. 'It formed a picture never to be forgotten,' said Robinson. 'It went to the heart, and I never saw anything like it in after life.'

Even later than this he sought to give utterance to his Master's message. The closing scene was one of sweet peace. Of conflict there was none. Praise was his whole employ. In a wakeful interval, he was heard to say in a low, distinct voice, 'There is no way into the holiest, but by the blood of Jesus.' 'Let me write for you' said a friend, when he had tried in vain to hold the pen; 'tell me what you wish to say.' 'Nothing,' he replied, 'but that God is with us.' These words were repeated by him again and again. During his last night of earthly life, he uttered scores of times, the words, 'I'll praise, I'll praise,' but could repeat no more of his favorite hymn. The next morning, as eleven persons, among them some of his dearest friends, knelt around his bed, Wesley uttered his last word, 'Farewell;' and as Joseph Bradford, for many years his faithful friend and travelling companion, repeated, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the heir of glory shall come in,' Wesley passed away. Some one present seems to have remembered his mother's dying request. 'Children,' she had said, 'as soon as I am dead, sing a hymn of praise.' Catching, as it were, the spirit of him who had just left them, Wesley's friends, standing around his corpse, sang,—

'Waiting to receive thy spirit,
Lo! the Saviour stands above;
Shows the purchase of His merit,
Reaches out the crown of love.'

Many who once lived are dead. No memory of noble deeds, performed in the narrow, or in the more extensive sphere in which they moved, is preserved on printed page, or kept safely treasured by loving human hearts. Wesley is not one of these. Thousands connected with the message he had brought them, the enjoyment of peace on

earth, and the prospect of unending blessedness. The world has not yet caught up with him as a reformer; it cannot outlive him. As years roll on, the man, who was possessed by a passion for saving souls, and who, throughout a long life, minded this 'one thing,' in sunshine and storm, appears greater and greater. And as the world shall grow better, the character of John Wesley, than whom no purer, more upright, more single-minded spirit can be found in the annals of Christendom, shall continue to attain nobler prominence.

The tidings of Wesley's departure, as they reached place after place, made a profound impression. Reaching Dr. Coke at Philadelphia, they caused him to hasten back to Britain, as quickly as possible. Black, who had visited New York in expectation of receiving counsel from Coke, respecting the field he had been called to superintend, and of obtaining laborers to aid in its more thorough cultivation, pressed forward to Philadelphia, where he met him on the 11th of May. From the interview he derived much benefit. Black was present at the Philadelphia Conference, and was much impressed by the wisdom and prudence with which Asbury guided the deliberations of his brethern.

CHAPTER VIII.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE SUMMER OF 1791, TO THE CONFERENCE OF 1793.

Arrival of six preachers from New York, and of Abraham J. Bishop from England. Stephen Humbert. Bishop in St. John, N. B. Formation of the first Methodist Society in that city. David George, the colored Baptist preacher. Visit of Bishop to Sheffield. Religious freedom in New Brunswick. Black prevented from preaching in St. John. Bishop's visit to Sheffield, Fredericton, and Nashwaak. Purchase of a church in St. John. Sketch of Duncan McColl. His work at St. Stephen. His union with the Methodist Itinerants. Earley's labors at Cumberland. His work during the winter of 1791-2. Remarkable conversions. Revival at Wallace, under the ministry of Grandin. Stephen Canfield. Closing of Marchinton's building against the Methodists of Halifax. Subscriptions in aid of a Methodist church. Public sympathy. Letter of Richard J. Uniacke, Esqr. Occupation of the theatre as a preaching place. Additions to the society at Halifax. First Trustees. Opening of Zoar Chapel. Methodist soldiers. Admiral Watts. Marchinton's building.

At the New York Conference of 1791, six preachers were appointed to accompany Black to Nova Scotia. With Asbury, it appears to have been a rule to send no preacher out of the Union, without his consent; these may, therefore, be regarded as volunteers. Few of them had had much experience in the itinerant work. William Jessop, ordained since his departure from the province, and stationed during the previous year in the city of New York, was the most prominent man of the number. Robert Barry had visited Jessop's native place in 1789; and, pleased with his sister, had asked and obtained leave to bring her as a bride to Shelburne. This event had no doubt invested Nova Scotia with a new interest for the brother. His constitution, naturally weak, had suffered from severe illness in New York, yet he labored successfully for several years before his final return to hs

native land, to die. John Cooper had been received into the ministry in 1788; John Regan, of whom his brethren speak as 'a very conscientious man,' of 'great solitude of mind,' remarkably fond of books, and successful as a preacher, had reached America from Ireland soon after the peace of 1783, and had entered the ministry in 1789. William P. Earley, a young man of twenty one, and a native of Gloucester County, New Jersey, had, with Benjamin Fisler and James Boyd, just been received into the itinerant ranks. No time was lost by these missionaries in reaching their destination; for early in June, an Episcopal minister reported to the society, under the auspices of which he labored, the arrival of 'a number of Methodist teachers from the United States.'

Earley, who reached Halifax on the 17th June, held three services in Marchinton's chapel, on the following Sabbath. The divine approval of his mission was signified by the conversion of one or two persons through the services of that day. On the Monday morning he moved on to Windsor. Kindly received at the house of Henry Scott, he remained at that village two or three days, preaching twice in the court-house, and visiting the members; and then sailed in the packet for Partridge Island. A gentleman, who entertained him there, furnished the somewhat discouraged young minister with a horse, for the first day's journey. On the evening of that day he reached a settlement to which he had been directed. It consisted of 'about half a dozen little huts covered with spruce bark.' He preached that evening to thirty persons, who 'appeared ignorant of any form or order of worship, as well as of the internal spirit of religion.' On the following evening he reached a remote part of his circuit at Cumberland, and went to the house of Mr. Reed, 'a Methodist who loved and feared the

Lord.' A 'refreshing time' at family worship went far to compensate the weary itinerant for the toils of the day. Cooper went to Annapolis; Jessop and Boyd to the southern coast; Regan remained at Halifax, to attend to the work there, in the absence of Black, who, three weeks after his return from the United States, sailed for Newfoundland; and Fisler, it is probable, travelled through the country districts connected with the exten sive Halifax circuit.

A few weeks later, Abraham John Bishop, of blessed memory, reached Halifax. Bishop was a native of the Island of Jersey. His conviction of his call to the min-istry was so strong, that he not only gave up good prospects of worldly success, but devoted all his property to the advancement of the work of God. One half, he directed to be used for missions; the balance he gave for the promotion of the interests of Methodism in the Channel Islands. A part of the funds set apart for the latter purpose are still held in the hands of trustees, in accordance with the donor's wish. A gentleman belonging to Nova Scotia, deeply interested in the welfare of the French at Memramcook, had endeavored, during a visit to England, to secure from the Conference the appointment of a preacher, whose knowledge of the French language would enable him to pay some attention to their spiritual interests. Bishop, already a local preacher, heard of the request, offered himself for the work, and receiving an appointment to New B. unswick, sailed from the Downs on the 18th of July. He secured the respect of all on board the vessel, so that they permitted him to preach, and even 'reprove, when necessary.' On the 30th of August he reached Halifax. 'On my arrival,' he wrote, 'I was kindly received by the brethren, especially by Mr. Marchinton, who requested me to make

his house my home. He has the cause of God much heart. He proposes going into the country, and introducing me to the French settlers.' Furnished with a letter of introduction from the Under-Secretary of State to Lieut. Governor Parr, Bishop took an early opportunity of calling upon His Excellency. He was courteously received; the errand on which he came was 'much commended'; and an offer of ordination by the Episcopal Bishop was held out to him. This proposition he submitted to his friends. These, upon consultation, decided that by remaining as he was he would be more useful; that the credentials he had brought with him were sufficient; and that it would be better not to be hampered by 'the forms of the Church.' He, therefore, with thanks, declined the Governor's offer.

Circumstances led to a change in Bishop's plans. Several of the loyalists who had settled at St. John, N. B., had, previously to their expatriation, been members of the Methodist Societies in the United States. The leading man among these was Stephen Humbert, whose pen has preserved some information respecting the early Methodism of that city. Humbert was a native of New Jersey. During the Revolutionary war he was in the city of New York, At the close of the struggle he became one of the grantees of St. John. For a number of years he occupied a prominent position as an alderman, captain of militia, and representative in the House of Assembly; and, at a period when Methodism was under a social ban, did not shrink from using the influence which official position gave him, for the advancement of the interests of the Church of his choice. He, with several others, had applied to influential Methodists in New York, asking their aid in securing the appointment of a

preacher for St. John, when Bishop, who had been informed of their situation, proposed to visit them and to remain for a time, if circumstances should permit. His offer was accepted without delay. On the 24th of September he reached St. John. 'The poor people,' he wrote, 'received me joyfully, and soon procured me a good place to preach in.' On the Sunday after his arrival he preached for the first time in that 'place,' well filled with attentive hearers, from 1st John 1, 3. Prior to the close of the public services of the second Sabbath, he informed his hearers that he intended to form a Methodist Society, and invited any persons, interested in the question of personal salvation, to remain after the dismission of the congregation. A large proportion of those present remained to hear an explanation of the Methodist 'plan'; and a number at once offered their names for membership. One of the classes was appointed to be held at the house of a Mr. Kelly, at the corner of Charlotte and Princess Street. Of this class, in the absence of the preachers, Mrs. Kelly was the leader. Soon after his arrival at St. John, Bishop visited the Long Reach. 'I have joined,' he wrote, on the first of November, 'a small society up the river, of fourteen members, and another here, of twenty whites and about twenty-four blacks. Most of the blacks were awakened under the ministry of one of their own color, who had been with them for some time. I have written to Dr. Coke to send two English preachers to relieve me in the spring, that I may proceed further into the country. We make a public collection weekly to assist in defraying their expenses. I hope it will not be very difficult to find two preachers, whose love to precious souls, and the blessed Redeemer's kingdom, will prevail with them to put their lives in their hands, and come to my help;

especially as the way is clear and the door open. One of these preachers will be wanted at St. Ann's, about ninety miles from St. John. Many persons from various parts of the country, importune me with the greatest earnestness to visit them, whom I am obliged to refuse at the present for want of time, as I have so much work upon my hands.'

The colored laborer alluded to by Bishop, was David George, a Baptist preacher, whose name appears in the early records of Shelburne, his first provincial home. Upon his arrival at St. John he had met with opposition, but Colonel Allan, residing near Fredericton, having known him in Charleston, S.C., introduced him to the Governor, by whose order the Secretary gave him a license to preach. He then returned to St. John, preached for a time, and immersed several, whom he left in the care of a colored man named Richards. In 1792 he went to Sierra Leone. Melville Horne, afterwards successor of the sainted Fletcher, in the vicarage of Madeley, in a letter from Sierra Leone, written in December of that year, speaks in high terms of George, who proposed to visit England. 'I recommend to your brotherly love,' he wrote to an acquaintance, 'Mr. David George, a sincere Christian, and a humble, diligent, and faithful minister of the word of God, which has been blessed from his lips, as it has always been exemplified in his conversation.' Of this humble, but worthy laborer, who was the first to perform the ceremony of immersion at Lockeport, and several other places in the provinces, but scant notice has yet been taken by writers on the history of the Church to which he belonged.

The arrival of Black at St. John, in November, enabled Bishop to respond to an earnest invitation from Sheffield. During the Revolutionary war, the Congre-

gational church at that place had been deserted by its pastor, Noble, whose sympathy with the revolted colonists led to his return to New England. In 1788, one of two ministers sent out to the province by Lady Huntingdon, had been called to the pastorate of the church, but indulgence in strong drink had unfitted him for that position, and filled the church with strife and discord. During Bishop's first sermon a powerful effect was produced upon the large congregation assembled in the Congregational meeting-house, and a number were led to seek peace with God. Succeeding sermons served to increase their conviction of the need of that great blessing. Bishop was soon obliged to leave for St. John, amidst the sighs, prayers and tears of those who had been awakened through his ministry; but the Spirit, in the absence of the human agent, led them on, until these genuine penitents obtained, through the blood of Christ, the forgiveness of sins.

The settlement of New Brunswick by a large body of loyalists, nearly all of whom were adherents of the Episcopal church, was not favorable to the cause of religious freedom in that province. In Nova Scotia it was otherwise. In the latter province, the presence, previously to the arrival of the loyalists, of a large body of settlers, of Puritan and Presbyterian origin, and of a smaller number of Methodists, who had brought with them Wesley's religious views, without his preposession in favor of a National Church, served as a steady check to any manifestation of intolerance, and to repeated efforts to appropriate a part of the provincial revenues to the support of Episcopalian interests. The lack of an equal proportion of the Nonconformist element, in the population of New Brunswick, placed those who saw fit, during the early history of that province, to differ from

the Episcopal majority, under serious disadvantages, and at times exposed them to the effects of an intolerant spirit.

Bishop, himself, suffered little from this cause. The letters of introduction, which he had carried from Governor Parr, and Philip Marchinton, to the Mayor of the city and to others, had shielded him. Hints were used in his case, when, under other circumstances, arguments of a very practical character would have been employed. Soon after his arrival, the Mayor was informed that he was not only preaching on Sabbath-evenings, but on week-evenings also, and that some, through attendance on his ministry, were becoming crazy. At that time, Episcopal services were held on Sabbath-mornings only. A few days after the report had reached the Mayor's ears, Bishop met him, with one of the aldermen, a military officer, and several other gentlemen, on the Market Square, and stopped to pay his respects to them. 'I am sorry,' said the Mayor, 'to hear some strange accounts of your preaching. I hear that you not only preach on Sundays, but on week-evenings also, and that some of your hearers are going beside themselves. Can't you be content to preach on Sundays, as other clergymen do?' Bishop, in reply, assured the Mayor that he had not heard of any members of his congregation having become insane through his preaching; and promised him, that if informed of any, he would do his best to bring them to their senses. At the same time, he avowed his sincere belief that the gospel which he preached was likely to have the contrary effect, in making those who listened to it wise unto salvation. Two of the gentlemen present had been fellow passengers with him from Halifax, and had heard him preach on board the vessel. He appealed to these as to the truth of what he had

advanced, and with an invitation to the Mayor to come and listen for himself, and thus be prepared to judge, he withdrew.

Black was less fortunate than Bishop. The latter, on his return to St. John, found that the former had not been permitted to preach during his absence. Black lacked Bishop's letters of recommendation; and influences, more potent than those of gentlemanly expostulation, were used to prevent him from being 'overmuch righteous.' While walking through the streets on the Lord's day he saw several ship-carpenters and caulkers at their ordinary work. During the evening service, he spoke in strong terms respecting the public desecration of the Sabbath in the city. Several persons, angry at this reference to their conduct, and aware of the existence of a provincial statute forbidding the exercise of ministerial functions without a license, ascertained that Black had not taken the precaution to procure one, and resolved to close the lips which had testified of their evil deeds. They therefore charged him, before the Clerk of the Peace, with contempt of the law. The zeal of that official proved to be more ardent than faithfulness to the duties of his office required. He at once forwarded a note to Black, informing him of the existence of the law respecting the license, and requesting to know whether he had conformed to it. Three hours after the receipt of the note, Black waited upon the writer at his office, and informed him that, immediately after his arrival in the province, he had consulted two of the principal magistrates in the city respecting the law in question; that these had assured him that the statute was never designed to prevent any minister regularly ordained, and of sober character, from preaching; and that, in their opinion, it would be quite sufficient for him to transmit the

credentials of his ordination to the Governor, who, they had no doubt, would give him a license. He also informed the Clerk that he had forwarded to His Excellency a copy of his ordination certificate, signed by Judges Ludlow and Upham, the latter of whom had not not only accompanied it with a recommendation, but had remarked to him, that as it was at the desire of a respectable body of people he preached, no one could look upon his compliance, under all the circumstances, as indicative of any contempt for the law. 'From all these circumstances,' said Black, 'I have ventured to preach at the request of the people, and have intended to do so until I should hear from the Governor; but since my conduct has been construed into contempt of authority, I shall desist until I hear from the Rev. Mr. Bishop, who has gone to wait upon His Excellency.' To all this, Mr. Hardy replied with a good deal of warmth, that neither the magistrates, nor the Governor himself, had any right to dispense with the law; expressed his surprise at such observations; and throwing a copy of the law before Black, said, 'You may examine it yourself,' and abruptly left the office. Loud boasting on the part of the 'baser sort' was indulged in; and predictions that Black would soon be looking through prison bars were uttered; but unmoved, he quietly sought to carry out the purpose of his mission by visitation from house to house. At the end of a fortnight, during which no further steps were taken against him, and no license received by him, he returned to Halifax, to attend to his duties on that circuit.

During the winter, Bishop again went up the river, visiting Sheffield, Fredericton, and Nashwaak. After the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia in 1785, Thomas Carleton, the Lieut-Governor of the new province, had chosen a level spot on the banks of the St. John,

known as St. Anns' Point, as the most suitable location for the seat of government. All who have reached Fredericton at the close of a summer day, spent among the beautiful and ever-varying scenery of the St. John; and have glanced for a moment at the river which glides along in front of the town, and the hills which rise with gradual ascent at the rear, and at the Nashwaak, which, on the opposite side, rolls its tribute of waters into the St. John, will be ready to admit that few finer situations can be found than that chosen by Governor Carleton for the capital of New Brunswick. Previous to the commencement of war with France, two regiments of British troops were generally quartered in the town. Godly men from their ranks, formed the majority of the members of the early Methodist classes of Fredericton. Prominent among these, and the few civilians of that day, who united with them in christian fellowship, was a faithful and upright Scotchman, Duncan Blair. At Nashwaak, Bishop found a part of the men of the 42nd Highland regiment, disbanded at the close of the Revolutionary war. These men, who had enlisted on condition of receiving at the termination of the war, one hundred acres of land each, were still angry at the deception, which they asserted, had been practised upon them by their officers. The latter had retained the best lots in the reservation made for the regiment, and had left for the men only narrow strips of land, cut in two by the river, and consisting mainly of upland, which in consequence of the narrowness of the lots, and the suddenness of the ascent from the narrow intervale, it was difficult to reach. In sheer disgust, many of the men had left their grants, or had sold them for a mere trifle, and had gone elsewhere, breathing curses upon their former officers. Those who had remained were by training, Presbyterians; but in

the absence of the ministry of that Church, the early Methodist itinerants sought them out, and ministered to their spiritual wants.

In the town of St. John, as well as in the more remote districts along the river, the work continued to prosper throughout the winter. On the 1st of April, 1792, Bishop wrote; 'The society in St. John are increased to eighty, above half of whom have found peace with God. They have purchased a church, ready furnished with pulpits and galleries; and the people continue to attend diligently. The experience of the young converts is truly wonderful. Children of ten, twelve and fifteen years of age, rejoice in a pardoning God; and some persons of about sixty years of age, are snatched from the pit of destruction.'

The church mentioned by Bishop has an interesting history. It stood on the north side of Germain street, between Duke and Queen streets, and was known as the 'City Hall,' and the 'Court House.' It was also used by the Episcopalians as a place of worship, previous to the completion of Trinity church in 1791. This building, in which George D. Ludlow, James Putnam, Isaac Allen, and Joshua Upham, the first Judges of New Brunswick, had administered the law; in which the earlier city fathers, under the presidency of Gabriel G. Ludlow, had held their consultations; where George Bisset, the first Episcopal rector of St. John, and his successor, Mather Byles, had ministered; and where in 1789 Charles Inglis, the first colonial Bishop, had held his first confirmation in the province, and delivered his first charge to the Episcopal clergy of New Brunswick, now became, under Bishop's earnest ministry, the spiritual birth-place of numbers, in whose memories it will occupy a prominent place for ever and ever. The first Sabbath-school in the

city was organized in 1809, in the same building, by Mr. Taylor, an English schoolmaster. Previously to the erection of their church in Germain street, in 1818, the Baptists also used it for religious services. For twenty years subsequently, it was used as a school room, and a dwelling house; and then the venerable building was torn down, and brick buildings erected on its site.

During the autumn of 1791, Duncan McColl, a solitary Christian worker on the border of New Brunswick and Maine, journeyed to Halifax, to meet Black, whom he had only known by report. McColl was a native of Argyleshire, Scotland. His father was a communicant in the Scotch Episcopal church; his mother, a woman of 'many prayers and superior talents.' The son, through the death of a young man for whom he had become security, and through a series of reverses which befell his father, was early made dependent upon his own unaided efforts. Without money, and without friends able to help him, he enlisted as pay-sergeant in one of the companies of the 74th Regiment, then being raised in his native county. In the spring of 1778, the regiment was ordered to Halifax, where a year later McColl embarked with it for Penobscot Bay. There, for the first time, he came under fire. The initiation proved to be no matter of mere ceremony. At a critical moment during the siege, when the enemy were pressing them closely, McColl was ordered by the colonel of his regiment to carry a message to an officer in charge of another party of troops. As McColl appeared on an elevation in sight of the enemy, the officer commanding them divined his purpose, and gave his men orders to fire at him. The bullets fell around him like hailstones; the ground was torn up; the hair cut from his head; and his clothing was reduced to rags. Three volleys

were fired at him; then the firing suddenly ceased, and he reached his destination in safety, and delivered his message.

Some years after, while McColl was travelling through Maine, a gentleman, at the close of a service, invited him and a brother-itinerant, to spend the night at his house. The conversation having turned during the evening upon the subject of a special Providence, the gentleman proceeded to give an incident in his own history, in illustration of his views. 'I was in my country's service,' he said, 'at the siege of Penobscot. Our troops landed under cover of our shipping. The British retreated in good order, and I pursued close after them with my regiment. I observed a well dressed man, with a sword in his hand, coming from their fort. I knew he had some unfavorable designs against us, and I thought it my duty to cut him off. I ordered my regiment to fire upon him, and after the third volley I saw that he was neither killed nor wounded. I immediately ordered the men to stop firing at him, and said, 'God has some work for that man to perform upon earth—let him alone.' Lee, McColl's fellow-traveller, to whom he had related the incident a few days previously, while they were passing through Penobscot, motioned to him to make himself known to his host, but fearful lest the knowledge of his having been in arms against them should interfere with his usefulness amongst the people, McColl carefully kept his secret.

During the same siege he had several other narrow escapes. Once, an eighteen-pound ball struck his Highland bonnet from his head, and completely destroyed the bunch of feathers which adorned it. At another time, a shell exploded before him, a piece of which cut in two the stock around his neck. A few days after, while seated

near a friend, a ball passed between them, and so close to McColl, that the 'wind' knocked him from his seat, and broke the skin upon his face and neck, causing the blood to flow freely. During a heavy fire, in which several were killed very near him, a man, whom the commanding officer had allowed him as an assistant, while seated on McColl's trunk, in the act of eating a piece of bread, had his head taken off. For his services during the siege, the General, calling him to his own apartment, thanked McColl in a 'very handsome' manner, and then placed him in charge of the provisions and other stores which should be received from time to time, for the use of the garrison.

During the dangers to which he was exposed at Penobscot, the impressions and better feelings of McColl's earlier days returned to him; but under the untoward influences by which he was surrounded in the fort, his course was one of alternate sin and repentance. At length he set apart a day for special reflection and prayer; and taking a book, sought a quiet retreat in the woods. As he rose to return, he became conscious of a new happiness, proceeding, he believed from the Holy Spirit. A wish to leave his former companions, and to find a place where he could serve God with less embarrassment, led him to ask for a transfer to head-quarters at New York. After having spent a short time on board a man-of-war, he went into winter-quarters at Jamaica, Long Island. At that place, during the winter of 1781-2, the clearer change, which made him a consciously adopted child of God, took place. Throughout all his wanderings he had read his Bible, and had not wholly neglected prayer. To these duties, on his arrival at Long Island, he gave special attention; yet, while convinced that salvation was to be attained by faith, he

'could see no difference between' his 'own faith and that of the drinking, swearing crowd' by which he was surrounded. One evening, while at prayer, much of his life from childhood suddenly came to his recollection; and long-forgotten actions, opposed to the character and will of God, rose up before him. Like others, he strove to palliate the force of accusation by a 'reference to his morality and good desires,' but 'conscience could not be appeased by so flimsy a stratagem.' Sorrow and trouble of heart permitted him to sleep but little that night. The succeeding day was one of sore distress. Towards its close, the views he entertained of his guilt as a condemned sinner, induced him to believe that mercy could not be extended to him; and yet, in his agony of spirit, he could not resist praying that he might be saved. The mental conflict became at length so intense that it seemed to him that he was about to pass into eternity, unprepared, because unforgiven. Just then light broke in upon the darkness; and an 'invisible spiritual instructor' whispered in his ear, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.' The necessary trust in Christ was soon exercised, and immediately 'there was a great calm.' Respecting the experience of this period, he afterward wrote: 'This peace of soul and calm feeling remained with me. I do not recollect of it leaving me for two years, for one hour at any time. Although I had some temptations God did not leave me.'

McColl occasionally found himself face to face with some of the temptations peculiar to military life. In such cases he had to utter a deliberate 'No,' where refusal involved risk of offence. His firmness, however, happily secured for him the respect of those who could not fully comprehend his motives. This fact received a singular illustration. The greater number of the men

belonging to a Grenadier company were Roman Catholics. The lieutenant, to whom the priest had given authority to receive the confessions of the men, and to pronounce the consequent absolution, professing himself unfit for the important trust, transferred his authority to a sergeant, who soon grew weary of the repulsive and unnatural task. The poor fellows, ignorant of the fact that none 'can forgive sins but God only,' came in their distress to McColl, to unburden their consciences. He soon learned that they were making him their father-confessor; and endeavoured to point out to them a more excellent way. During a conversation with them, one of the men told him of the neglect of duty on the part of the lieutenant and the sergeant, and touchingly remarked; 'Now, we are lost sheep without a shepherd. We were in the habit of unbosoming ourselves to the confessor, who used to pray with us and to pronounce absolution, which relieved our minds, but now we are in sin, and have to carry the burden all the day without a confessor. We believe you to be a good man, and we feel comfort in unbosoming ourselves to you.' For the advice he gave them in their trouble, the men were grateful. Of this they gave a practical proof, by watching with him night after night during a tedious illness of fourteen weeks.

After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a commission, McColl resolved, at the close of the war, to proceed to England, where the General had promised to use his influence in his behalf. In order to obtain the interest of another officer, then in Halifax, he sailed for Nova Scotia with Philip Marchinton, whose vessel, driven off the coast by a severe storm, made the harbor of St. George's, Bermuda, where the passengers, three hundred in number, remained throughout the winter.

From one of these, a young woman, previously connected with the Methodists in Philadelphia and New York, who afterwards became his wife, McColl learned more of Methodism than he had hitherto known. In February, 1784, dissatisfied with himself on account of his long silence, he resolved to speak to his fellow-passengers about the gospel of Christ. Several officers among them tried 'every scheme in their power' to silence him, but without success. They soon became convinced of their error, and some of them, before taking leave of the vessel in the following spring, frankly confessed their mistake, and expressed their admiration of his conduct. A few years later, McColl found several persons connected with the Methodist church, at Halifax and elsewhere, who had been led into the service of Christ through his efforts at Bermuda.

The storm which drove Marchinton's vessel to the southward changed the whole course of McColl's life. After a short delay in Halifax, he took some goods to St. Andrews. Thence, during the following year, he removed to St. Stephen, to take charge of the business of two of his former officers who wished to visit Scotland. The spiritual state of the inhabitants made him sorrowful. 'I found them,' he afterwards wrote, 'a mixed multitude from Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States of America; partly disbanded soldiers and refugees, scattered through the wilderness, without either the form or power of godliness. There was no place of public worship within sixty miles of them, save one of the Church of England, in the town of St. Andrews, sixteen miles from this place. McColl's dwelling soon became a centre of religious interest. On the first Sabbath six neighbors came, with whom he read the Scriptures and knelt in prayer. On the next Sabbath sixty came. The interest

continued to grow. McColl's nearest neighbor, who had alled upon him in deep mental distress, found peace with God through believing; and five others professed conversion during the same week. The magistrates threatened to suppress the meetings, but McColl publicly assumed the responsibility of their continuance, and no interference was attempted. A conviction that it was his duty to preach, to which he had previously been a stranger, now suddenly took possession of him. 'I fasted and prayed, and laid our case before the Lord,' says McColl, 'and the prophecies of Jeremiah, 20. 8-11, came with such force to my soul as to remove all scruple, and I was sure that the Lord called me to the ministry. I was deeply conscious of my want of talents for the ministry, but God added spiritual help.'

McColl soon called the believers in his neighborhood together, and formed a society, as nearly in accordance with the Methodist system as his limited knowledge of Methodism would permit. As soon as possible he gave up business, and devoted his time to the study and ministry of the word. A call from Maine took him for a short time into that State. On his return he was gladdened by some few conversions every two or three months. 'I kept on the move,' he writes, 'around the country and down to the Island; and, blessed be the Lord, I met with encouragement wherever I went; for Satan's kingdom suffered much loss. I visited St. Andrews, St. David's, and elsewhere. My whole time was now devoted to the ministry. I had also to provide a house, seats, and a fire for the people in the winter, for no one took it into his head to help me. My own property was blessed abundantly; yea, almost, if not altogether, to a miracle. My faith in that respect was disturbed once. I felt a little discouraged, but these words came into my mind and

relieved me: 'When I sent you forth without money, lacked ye anything?' I cried, 'Nothing, Lord, no, no!' As no private house in St. Stephen could contain the congregation, McColl and his friends commenced the erection of a church at that place, in 1790. At the completion of the building a debt of sixty pounds remained, which in less than four years was removed by means of Sabbath collections.

At the time of McColl's arrival at Halifax, in the autumn of 1791, Black was in Newfoundland. Regan, whom he had left in charge, was the first Methodist minister with whom McColl became acquainted. McColl preached in Halifax, and remained there three days. In going and returning he preached at Windsor. While in Halifax he received a present of a 'good suit of broadcloth.' This, with three cheeses carried on his back for ten miles, and three and a half dollars in cash, constituted his whole worldly renumeration for seven years of labor, 'in word and doctrine,' During the following spring, Black returned McColl's visit; and McColl, one in heart with them before he had seen their faces, fell into line with the Methodist itinerants of the Lower Provinces.

Earley had reached Cumberland in July, 1791. On his arrival he obtained from Mr. Pipes, a local preacher, 'some kind of a plan,' which he used as a guide. On the following Sabbath he preached in the morning at Sackville to a good and attentive congregation; and in the afternoon in the court-house at Amherst. At the latter place the youthful preacher spoke with 'considerable liberty,' and the congregation listened with 'great attention,' but at the close they permitted him to stand beside the circuit horse, until the sheriff of the county, seeing his awkward position as a stranger, invited him

to his house, and hospitably entertained him. Earley found his host, and some of the people, 'tainted' with Newlight principles. At Fort Lawrence he thought the congregation 'filled with unbelief, and beset with the vanities and fashions of the world.' During his stay in the Cumberland circuit Earley met with little encouragement. 'I endeavoured,' he says, 'to stagger along for the space of four months, when I left them in nearly the same state in which I found them.' The winter of that year was spent by him at Hopewell, and at Hillsborough and other places on the Peticodiac river. Throughout the winter he travelled wholly on foot, with his saddle-bags over his shoulders. His sufferings from long journeys through deep snows were sometimes very severe. One day, he had frequently to lie down for rest on the snow, to find his hair frozen to the collar of his coat, as he attempted to rise. Yet, for these hardships he was not without compensation. His intercourse with some of those German settlers who had been among the first fruits of Black's ministry, and the decided conversion of several persons through his own labors during the winter, gave him deep satisfaction. Three of these conversions, which took place in a neighborhood thirty or forty miles from the mouth of the Peticodiac river, were of a marked character. An old Newlight gentleman gave Earley an invitation to his home. Unable at the time to accept it, he promised to avail himself of it in three weeks, and to preach, if he would open his house, or procure another for that purpose. A house was obtained, and due announcement of the intended service made by the old gentleman. At the appointed time, he, with the preacher and others, repaired to the place, to have the door shut in their faces by a party engaged in a dance. The old gentleman, no less

surprised than the preacher, at once offered his own house, to which they repaired, followed soon after by the leader and several of the party who had shut the preacher out. As Earley proceeded in his sermon on Christ's words to Nicodemus, a powerful influence accompanied his utterances. Among those most deeply impressed was the leader of the dancing party, who, convinced of sin, began to pray for mercy. The preacher then ceased to preach, and commenced to address the penitents personally. Before the close of the meeting this man rose to testify of pardon, and to reveal the plot laid to prevent the service. The owner of the house, in which this scheme had been carried out, became very angry with his brother-in-law on account of the sudden change in his course, and declared that he himself would attend the next service, but would take good care that 'they should not make such a fool' of him. Under the next sermon preached by Earley he, too, was convinced of sin. At the close of the service he met the preacher in a penitent spirit, and invited him to his house. At a prayer-meeting held there that evening he obtained forgiveness. His wife, who during the meeting, for the first time felt her need of salvation, obtained a comfortable assurance of it a few days later, in another prayer-meeting. Henceforth, the house from which Earley had been so rudely repulsed became one of his preaching places.

In March, 1792, he crossed the country, and spent a week among some of the settlers on the Kennebeccasis. 'Many of the people,' he says, 'were averse to Methodism, and indeed to everything that was good.' He labored there with but little success. On his return to the Peticodiac, he formed at one of his preaching places a society of seventeen persons, some of whom were after-

wards led away by the Newlights. During a second visit to the Kennebeccasis, in June, he preached in spite of the remonstrances and threats of the magistrate. The first service was held in a large barn. At the closing service four 'found peace.' As he returned to his circuit, several persons, blessed through his ministry, accompanied him a few miles on his journey, and then took a reluctant farewell. About the middle of June he left Hopewell for St. John, in search of a passage to New York.

Boyd remained on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, until relieved by Fisler, in the spring of 1792. His labors at Liverpool, where he succeeded Grandin, were highly appreciated. The single reference preserved respecting his presence in Shelburne, occurs in a note in which a Shelburne merchant announces to a friend the death and burial of an old and favorite slave. 'The negroes,' said the merchant, in reference to the funeral,' brought Boyd, a rigid Methodist parson, whom I sent about his business.' Jessop, during the autumn of 1791, labored with much success at Barrington.

During the winter of 1791, Grandin visited Wallace, then known by its Indian name of Ramsheg. A number of loyalists had settled, in 1784, on a tract laid out for a town, on the north side of the harbor, nearly opposite to the site of the present village. The majority of these had borne arms during the late war. Many remained but a short time in their new quarters. Those who had resolved to become settlers had not been sought out by the ministers of the Episcopal Church, the services of which they had been accustomed to attend before their removal to Nova Scotia. But one minister had found his way into the settlement during the seven years which had elapsed since these exiles sought a new home near the Straits of Northumberland. This solitary visitor was Edward

Manning, of the Baptist Church. In the absence of religious services the settlers became very dissipated, and total inattention to moral and religious duties prevailed. Chastisement prepared the way for a blessing. Disease of a contagious and severe type visited nearly all the families, and death left his footprints in many homes. The sudden death of a man who had been sent for a quantity of liquor, over which to carouse, had also made some impression. The influence of these events had not wholly passed away, when Grandin, who had been preaching to the loyalist settlers on Westchester Mountain, made his appearance at the head of Wallace Bay, accompanied by Mr. Donkin, of River Philip. Arrangements had been made for a dance at the house of Thomas Huestis, on the evening of the day of his arrival. The floor had been sanded, and a few of the guests had arrived, when a message reached the house, that a Methodist preacher, at Andrew Forshner's, desired permission to preach in the room that evening. The voice of a preacher had so rarely been heard in the neighborhood, that the strange request was granted. Various opinions were expressed at the conclusion of the sermon, but all gave utterance to a feeling of satisfaction that the preacher had not made war upon their favorite amusements. At the service on the following evening, at the house of Stephen Canfield, the same immunity from attack was not enjoyed. The preacher, more secure in his position, uttered strong words, in condemnation of all amusements tending to exclude religion from the heart, or weaken its influence upon the life. His words were accompanied by the power of the Spirit. The prayers of the awakened were heard from all parts of the room. Day after day, the people met to listen to the Gospel, and at almost every service some were converted. The work proved to be as permanent as it

converted. The work proved to be as permanent as it was powerful. Many of the descendants of the converts of that day, are to be found among the Methodists of the Wallace, and other circuits, and in the ministry of the Church.

Stephen Canfield, in whose house the revival commenced, became one of the chief pillars of the infant church. He was a native of Bedford, in the State of New York. Having been a vigorous supporter of British rule, during the Revolutionary struggle, he became an exile at its close. In June, 1783, he landed in Westmoreland. After a winter spent at Amherst, he, with a number of others, sailed from Baie Verte to Ramsheg. During the revival under Grandin, he and his wife sought and found the forgiveness of sins, and thenceforth walked in newness of life. Mr. Canfield was often heard, in later years, to say: 'When I set out for heaven, it was with a determination, by the grace of God, to hold out to the end.' His christian career was marked by decision of character, and a readiness to confess his Master under any circumstances; and his piety was of that cheerful stamp which rendered his society attractive to all, and edified the Christian, while it convinced the worldly man of the purity of his motives. His visits were welcomed by the afflicted; and his co-operation with the ministry, and his pecuniary assistance in the extension of the work of the Church, were freely given. In his house the earlier ministers of the Wallace circuit found a comfortable home. For twenty years he was circuit steward. Soon after his conversion he was appointed a leader. The duties of that office he relinquished only a short time before his death. The closing scene of his life of eighty-eight years was befitting the departure of a child of God, to the 'many mansions' of

his Father's house. 'God is good,' said the venerable old man to his pastor, on one occasion, when his words were few through weakness; 'God is good! If I should say He is not good, I should say wrong! You may tell my friends and the world that I find God is good.' A few moments before his death one of his family said to him, 'You will soon be in heaven.' 'I am in heaven already, my dear;' was his answer, and his final earthly utterance. Five minutes later, he 'was not, for God had taken him.'

Black, after his return from Newfoundland, in the autumn of 1791, remained a short time at Halifax, where his presence was much needed. The remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit's influences, which had accompanied his labors in Newfoundland, had formed a new era in his ministerial life. Such triumphs are to the Christian, not unfrequently, the forerunners of trial, calculated to test his faith to its utmost capacity. It so fell out in Black's case. Happily for himself, and for the interests of the church in Halifax, the spirit of self-consecration and strong faith, in which he had left the shores of Newfoundland, prepared him to meet the trial which awaited him on his arrival in Nova Scotia, with calmness and energy. During his absence, unbecoming conduct on the part of Marchinton, the most wealthy and influential man among the Methodists at Halifax, had led to his exclusion from the church. His ownership of the commodious building in which Black and other ministers had preached for several years, afforded him an opportunity of gratifying an unhallowed determination to involve the society in all possible perplexity. 'He attempted,' wrote a leading member, 'to raise himself above all discipline, and therefore fell. Oh, the deceitfulness of riches; how they blind the understanding and

harden the conscience! By this event we are deprived of a public place for worship, and for the present are obliged to hold our meetings in a private house. But the Lord is with us, and we find his fall the cause of others being established. The society are unanimous respecting the necessity of his being expelled.' Black, upon his return, remonstrated seriously and affectionately with Marchinton, but in vain. He continued unshaken in his determination neither to rent nor to sell the building, for the accommodation of the Methodists.

The cloud, which at this period overhung the little church in Halifax, and seemed in the view of some to be charged with elements of destruction, broke in blessings upon it. The fiery trial, instead of paralyzing the energies of the membership, strengthened and developed them, to an extent wholly unexpected. The necessity for the erection of a place of worship having become absolute, the usual preparatory steps were soon taken. The promptness and generosity of the response, from those to whom the subscription list was first presented, dispelled the doubts of the more timid, and authorized the adoption of immediate measures for the erection of a new church. The names of many prominent citizens of Halifax appear on the list of subscribers. The spirit in which some of these responded to the call added to the value of their contributions. A note, which accompanied a subscription of three guineas, forwarded by Richard John Uniacke, Esq., afterwards Attorney-General of the Province, and father of the late Rev. R. F. Uniacke, Rector of St. George's, Halifax, has been preserved. 'The experience which we have had in this community," wrote Mr. Uniacke, 'of the good effects produced by the assembling of persons of your persuasion for the purpose of public worship, gives me good hopes, from the zeal manifested by

many in support thereof, that its good effects will be farther felt; and that in time it may extend itself so far into the country parts as to produce a return of that decency and decorum, so necessary to be observed on all solemn occasions, which, I am sorry to say, in so many instances in the country parts of this province, has been sadly violated by the mistaken methods pursued by ignorant persons, whose errors arose from an overheated imagination, and the want of improved teachers to lead them to moderate their passions, and to instruct them that the true worship of a Supreme Being does not require the neglect of the established duties of civil society.'

Driven from their former place of worship, the leaders, meanwhile, made the best possible provision for the emergency, by hiring the theatre. In that building, known afterwards as the 'Duke of Kent's theatre,' and at a later period as the place in which, for several years, Walter Bromley, Esq., carried on a school on the Lancasterian system, the Gospel was preached with much success by William Black and William Jessop. Their regard for the purity of their membership, and the exercise of their discipline in the face of trials of no trifling kind, had won for the Methodists the respect of the public, and had drawn toward them those, who, in that age of laxity of morals, formed the determination to lead a better life. After having done all in his power to confirm and strengthen the members, Black left them, to visit Horton, Granville, Annapolis and Digby. From the latter place he crossed to St John, where, for the first time, he met Bishop. His treatment in St. John has already been described. In November he returned to Halifax.

The conversion of Joshua Newton, who afterward rendered important aid to provincial Methodism, took place in connexion with the services held in the theatre.

This young man belonged to one of the most influential families in Nova Scotia. Hibbert Newton, his grandfather, had been Collector of Customs at Annapolis, when that town was the capital of Nova Scotia; and a member of Council, when the Council was first constituted by Governor Philips in 1720. His father, Henry Newton, was the first Collector at Halifax, where he filled that office for fifty years; and, according to the political system of that day, which passed certain offices and honors from father to son, as if they pertained to the birthright, he, too, was a member of the Council for more than forty years. Gilbert Stewart Newton, R.A., his son, became an artist of distinction, and contributed some valuable pictures to the treasury of British art. One of his pictures, beautifully executed, occupies a conspicuous position among those of Hogarth, Wilkie, and others in the Vernon Gallery, London; another may be seen in the 'Sheepshanks collection' in the South Kensington Museum. Two others of his pictures were sold to English noblemen for five hundred guineas each. To an elder son of Henry Newton belongs the greater and more permanent honor, which heaven attaches to those who turn men to righteousness. Joshua Newton, a young man of moral habits, was led to 'think on his ways' by seeing a person break through the ice in the harbor, who, though rescued from the water, died from the effects of the sudden shock and chill. Reflection led him to seek more serious company than that to which he had been accustomed. Failing to find it in the Episcopal Church, in connexion with which he had been trained, he turned toward the Methodists; and in the theatre, where he had witnessed gatherings of a very different character, he heard words whereby he was saved. Soon after, his brother Francis became one with him in heart, and in purpose. It was

about this period, that the late John Jost also became convinced of the importance of personal salvation, and having obtained an assurance of it, sought a place among the Methodists of Halifax. In earlier days his heart had been influenced by the Spirit of God, and he had been enabled fearlessly to condemn certain customs which tended to evil; but it was not until he came within the range of Black's ministry that he learned to look at the Crucified One, with that utter distrust of self, and that recumbency upon His atonement, which is followed by a manifestation of God, as a reconciled Father. His wife soon joined him in the pathway of life. For many years Mr. Jost discharged faithfully the duties of a leader. When he had reached his eighty-sixth year, death found him at his post, and noiselessly removed him to the land of immortal life. Several of his children and grandchildren have merited honorable mention among the ministry and laity of Methodism.

Another, whose virtues and deep piety have been placed on record, identified herself at this period with the infant church.[1] This was the wife of David Seabury, Esq., a brother of Samuel Seabury, D.D., the first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. This lady had been carefully trained by her mother in the usages of that Church, and at a comparatively early age had become a subject of renewing grace. At the close of the Revolutionary war she and her children accompanied her husband to Nova Scotia. A desire for congenial christian friends led her, about 1792, to say to the members of the Society, 'I will go with you, for God is with you.' Reverses in business obliged her husband and herself to return to New York in 1806. Previously to that period two of her daughters had left her home, to share the un-

[1] Dr. Bangs, in 'Our Excellent Women' of Methodism, p. 238.

certain lot of the early itinerants. Through the many changes which took place in her external circumstances Mrs. Seabury continued steadfast in the faith of Christ. The close of her long and chequered life was one of triumph.

Early in the spring of 1792, arrangements were made for the erection of the new church. Alexander Anderson, Joseph Anderson, his brother, John Wisdom, Peter Smith, master-blockmaker at the Naval Yard, and Samuel Sellon, were appointed trustees. Three of these were connected with the Dockyard. Samuel Sellon was a nephew of Walter Sellon, the accomplished Episcopal divine, and staunch friend of Wesley, whose theology he vigorously defended against the attacks of the brothers, Sir Richard, and Rowland Hill. The nephew, a native of Halifax, was surveyor of lumber at the Dockyard. Respect for Black, to whom he had been introduced, led him to listen to him. He soon received 'the truth in the love thereof,' and withdrew from the Episcopalians, among whom he had been trained, to unite with the Methodists. His deep piety, and his cheerful, pleasing countenance, which even severe suffering could not change, made him extensively useful. At the breaking up of the Dockyard establishment in 1819, a pension was granted him. Highly respected to the end, he died in 1851 at Liverpool.

A lot of land on the western side of Argyle street was conveyed in May, 1792, to these trustees, who immediately entered into an agreement with Edward Wisdom for the erection of a 'Preaching-House,' to be 'fifty feet in length, thirty-six in breadth, and twenty-two feet post.' The foundation was dug by Methodist soldiers. In accordance with an arrangement between the trustees and the contractor, those who had money or materials gave

them; those who had neither gave labor; and some, deeply interested, spent evening hours in assisting the work. On the morning of Sunday, November 25th, 1792, the building was formally opened. On that joyous occasion, Jessop preached, it is said, from Gen. 19. 23; 'The sun was risen on the earth when Lot entered into Zoar.' Thenceforth, the new building was known as 'Zoar Chapel.'

Fourteen pounds, in aid of the building fund, were received from Dr. Coke. Nineteen pounds were also contributed by Methodist soldiers in Halifax. This sum, which may be considered large, in view of the extremely low rate of pay then received by the British soldier, was collected by John Watts, a sergeant of the 21st regiment, who occasionally occupied the pulpit as a local preacher, after the completion of the church. These Christian soldiers were permitted to worship but a short time in the church, in the erection of which they had taken a deep interest. In 1793 they were removed to the West Indies; and during the spring of the following year tidings reached Halifax of the death of several of their number, among whom, wrote one of the members at Halifax, was 'dear brother Watts, the shepherd of the little flock.'

George Edward Watts, the only son of this Methodist soldier, and a native of Halifax, afterwards attained a prominent position among distinguished Nova Scotians. His mother, left in charge of him and his sister, turned a good education to account by opening a school in Halifax. In 1797, the son, then a bright boy of twelve years, succeeded, either through personal efforts, or the good offices of the many friends his mother had gained, in reaching the ear of the Duke of Kent, then holding the chief military command in Nova Scotia. The Duke,

pleased with the lad, and informed by the mother that her husband had served in his own regiment, almost immediately placed him on board a man-of-war, as a midshipman, and made him an allowance from his private purse for five years. The opinion entertained of him by the Duke was fully justified by his future career. In several important naval actions, in the earlier part of the present century, he took a prominent, and, in some cases, an heroic part. Though forty times under fire, and seventeen times wounded,—on the last occasion so seriously as to unfit him, though in the prime of life, for further active service,—he lived to realize, as Vice-Admiral, with two medals, and a good-service pension, the dream of his boyhood.

After the expulsion of the Methodists, Marchinton, himself, preached for a time in the building, to which, after the erection of Zoar Chapel, the unsatisfactory name of 'Sodom' was sometimes applied, in the way of contrast. Previous to its alteration into dwellings, the building had several occupants. In 1806, it was purchased by a Presbyterian congregation, of which, in 1812, the Rev James Robson became the pastor. At a later date it was occupied by those friends of Dr. Twining, who seceded from the Episcopal Church in consequence of the appointment of Dr. Willis to the Rectorship of St. Paul's, in 1824.

CHAPTER IX.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE SUMMER OF 1791 TO THE CONFERENCE OF 1793.—(*Continued.*)

Removal of Negroes to Sierra Leone. Their subsequent history. Conference of 1792. New Church at Windsor. Cooper at Annapolis. Black at Sheffield. Incident at Wallace. Success of the work in Halifax. Bishop in St. John. His departure. His removal to Grenada, and death there. McColl in New Brunswick. Extravagances at Sheffield. Grandin in Prince Edward Island. Nathanael Wright. Grandin at Nashwaak. Persecution of Grandin and Earley. Courteous conduct of Gov. Carleton. Hardships of Earley, at Pleasant Valley. Earley's return to the United States. Black's visit to the General Conference. His appointment as Presiding Elder in the West Indies. Erection of new Church at Liverpool. Trustees,—Simeon Perkins and Samuel Hunt, Esqrs. Conference of 1793. Black permitted to remain in Nova Scotia.

In 1791, for the last time, a separate enumeration of 'blacks' appears in the provincial returns of membership. The two hundred colored members, returned for that year, had nearly all arrived at a new home in a far-off African colony, before the return of summer. The negro population, of which these formed a part, had reached the Provinces at the close of the Revolutionary war. Some of them had escaped into the British lines during the struggle, and having labored on the fortifications had been transported to the provinces; others had accompanied their former masters from the old colonies. Of the latter class, a few, after their arrival in Nova Scotia, had been transferred as property from one owner to another; but the belief that the courts would not recognize slavery as having a lawful existence in the colonies, and perhaps, also, the unsatisfactory character of such property in a country where food was

scarce and clothing expensive, led to an early and complete emancipation. In a climate so much colder than that to which they had been accustomed, many of them became a burden and an annoyance to the authorities, whose enactments concerning them provoke a smile from the reader of the earlier records of the county sessions. The Methodist itinerants of that day expended much labor in the endeavor to do them good, and with some success. Among the colored people at Shelburne and Burchtown a large society existed; at Preston was another, under the charge of Boston King, of their own color; while nearly the whole membership at Digby, and a small part of that at Halifax and at St. John, belonged to the same race.

An Act to incorporate the Sierra Leone Company was passed by the British Parliament in 1791. This company had been formed during the spring of that year, after the rejection by Parliament of the annual motion for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. It was designed by the advocates of abolition to be a trading company; but was formed with no expectation of mercantile advantage. The Directors aimed, by the extension of lawful commerce into Africa, to commence the civilization of the continent; and in this way to confute, in the most positive manner, all the arguments in favor of the slave trade, drawn from the alleged intellectual inferiority of the African race. With this view, Wilberforce took an active part in the establishment of the company, and consented to act as one of its Directors. A number of the negroes in Nova Scotia, informed of the existence of the company, sent a delegate to England to set forth to its members on their behalf, that the climate of Nova Scotia had proved uncongenial, while the promises respecting land, made by the provincial govern-

ment, had not been strictly fulfilled; and to ask their aid in removing to the new African colony. On the representations of the delegate, the Directors sent out Lieut. Clarkson, a brother of Thomas Clarkson, the well-known philanthropist, to confer with the government, and make the necessary arrangements for removal. On his arrival, the negroes throughout the Lower Provinces were seized with a general desire to emigrate to the land of promise. The late John Sargent, Esqr., of Barrington, met a number of them on their way from the Westward to Shelburne, and asked them whither they were bound. 'Ah! Massa,' was the reply of the simple-hearted creatures, 'we be going to Sierra Leone to be made majesties (magistrates) of.' Two vessel-loads of them, among whom were many members of the Methodist society at Shelburne and Burchtown, left Shelburne in December, 1791, for Halifax, calling on the way at Liverpool, where a local preacher went ashore, and held a service. On the 15th of January, 1792, a fleet of fifteen ships, chartered by the provincial government, with 1196 blacks on board, collected from various parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, sailed from Halifax, under charge of Lieut. Clarkson, for Sierra Leone. Not long after their departure a violent storm arose, which continued for several days, and scattered the fleet, but all reached their destination in safety. At Sierra Leone a new trial awaited them; for a fever, which had broken out on the passage, raged so violently for two or three months after their arrival, that the corpses were with difficulty interred. The majority of the negroes removed from Nova Scotia by Clarkson, proved turbulent and unruly, and at length, attempted to take the life of the Governor of the colony. In spite of these unfavourable circumstances, many of the Methodists maintained their

integrity. Some men of ability landed among them. One of these was Boston King, the leader of the little flock at Preston, who, at the request of the company, went to England in 1794, and after an attendance of two and a half years at Wesley's school at Kingswood, returned to the colony as a teacher. Those faithful to their former profession soon formed themselves into a society, and elected two or three of the more intelligent of their own number to watch over their spiritual interests. After some time, though poor, they succeeded in the erection of a church. A blessing attended their efforts. In 1811, when George Warren, the first Wesleyan missionary from England, reached the colony, he found there two Methodist churches, three local-preachers, six class-leaders, and one hundred and two members. The work, sustained during a trying period by these lay laborers, has been continued by an unbroken succession of devoted ministers from England; a large number of whom have fallen victims to the effects of a climate so fatal to Europeans. Yet, large as is the 'group of bonnie dust,' formed by these sons and daughters of English Methodists, who have fallen in that physically fatal field, there are those, who, prompted by a motive stronger than that of love of life itself, still say, in reference to Sierra Leone, 'Here am I, send me.' The mission has been widely extended, and some extensive religious revivals have taken place. The work, undertaken and cherished by Black, Garrettson, Cromwell, and others in Nova Scotia, has thus had an influence upon the evangelization of Africa.

The Conference of 1792 was held at Windsor, on the 28th and 29th of February. A deep religious interest had for some time prevailed in that village, and among the soldiers in the garrison at Fort Edward. The gather

ing of the ministers was therefore anticipated with pleasure, and was followed by an effort to secure the erection of a place of worship. One hundred and ten pounds were cheerfully subscribed for the purpose, and the frame was brought from the woods previously to Black's departure from the place. Among the trustees were Edward Church, in whose home at the 'Retreat' farm the weary itinerants often found a resting place; Henry Scott, at whose residence more than one of the earlier Conferences was held; and William Walter Rickards, whose house and workshop were used for religious services in winter, for some years after the erection of the shell of the new church. Walter Rickards had come with the loyalists to Shelburne, whence he had removed to Halifax, and soon after to Windsor. He had been brought up in another branch of the Church, but his wife belonged to a family which had been among the first in Windsor to approve of the doctrines and discipline of Methodism. At the close of the first service held in his house, the preacher, without inquiry, made announcement for another. Mr. Rickards, though by no means pleased, offered no opposition, and at length provided a pulpit for the frequent services which followed. Years after, when he had become a member and a leader, his wife would pleasantly rally him about the perseverance of that Methodist preacher, whose boldness had long since ceased to be objectionable.

The four months, following the Conference of 1792, were spent by Black in visiting and confirming the churches under his care. His place at Halifax was supplied by Jessop. At Annapolis, he found that imprudent conduct on the part of Cooper, who had been stationed there, had inflicted a wound, from which the church in that place has never, perhaps, fully recovered. Cooper,

who did not lack talents of an attractive and useful character, had been popular at Annapolis. A number had professed conversion under his ministry. During a severe illness which had brought him to the verge of the grave, he had given his friends undoubted evidence of his readiness to depart in the full assurance of faith. His recovery seemed to prove that life may be more dangerous to the Christian than death. Among those who had connected themselves with the society at Annapolis, was a half-pay officer, with his wife and daughter. Soon after his recovery, Cooper was married to the daughter. The strong influence, exerted over him by the family, became evident to his friends, who feared the results. These fears had, unfortunately too much foundation. Through the influence of his, father-in-law, Cooper ceased to preach, and even assumed an attitude of hostility towards the members of his former flock. His exclusion from the Conference was followed by the withdrawal of the family from the Church. The result was disastrous to all concerned. Two years later, the family resolved to break off, as far as was possible, all connection with the unhappy man, whom they had succeeded in leading away from the path of duty. The father, on his way to Halifax, for the purpose, it is said, of preventing any part of his property from falling into the hands of his son-in-law, was seized with sudden illness at Windsor, where he died. A free-stone slab still covers his grave in the old parish church-yard of that town. Cooper, at that time in the United States, returned a few days after the decease of his father-in-law, to find the door of his former home closed against him. A young minister, then in Annapolis, wrote respecting him, 'He associates with the wicked, and seems awfully hardened. His case is truly desperate.'

From Annapolis, Black crossed to St. John, where he remained for some time under more pleasing circumstances than during his previous visit. The progress of the work in that town afforded him much pleasure. At Fredericton he found a class of twenty-two, nearly all of whom were soldiers. During the few days spent by him there, the number increased to thirty. At Sheffield, he detected, with sorrow, 'much wildfire and many wrong opinions.' Objection having been made to his use of the Congregational church, by some of the leading men connected with it, he preached there but once. Private houses were offered him, to which the young people went in crowds to listen to him. The first Methodist class in Sheffield was formed by Black, during this visit. A number of pious Congregationalists and others, who made searching inquiries respecting Methodist doctrines and discipline, and received satisfactory answers from Black, were the first members of the Methodist church at Sheffield. During this journey, on which he was accompanied by Stephen Humbert, he also formed several other classes among the settlers on the St. John river. Black then proceeded to St. Stephen to meet McColl, whom he had not yet seen. The 'spirituality' of the flock under the care of the latter afforded him much gratification. Accompanied by McColl, he returned to St. John, where both took part in the closing service of Bishop's ministry in that place. Concerning it, he writes, 'Oh, what a time! very similar to the service on a like occasion in Newfoundland.' From Ramsheg, now Wallace, he visited the different parts of the circuit which Grandin had travelled during a part of the previous winter. Very precious, to these isolated settlers on the shores of the Straits of Northumberland, had been the sermons and the pastoral visits of that winter. A descendant of one

of the early settlers at Malagash used to tell that when Grandin had reached the home of his ancestor, and had proposed to have prayer with the family, one of the sons was sent to the house of a brother, who had settled a mile and a-half nearer the 'Point,' to acquaint him with the preacher's purpose; and that the messenger returned almost breathless and with bleeding feet, having run the whole distance around the shore, and waded, on his way to and fro, waist-deep through a creek. Black used every opportunity to exhort those who had believed, 'that with purpose of heart they should cleave unto the Lord.' On his return to Halifax he found the work under Jessop presenting a cheering aspect. Some had been converted; others were inquiring about the way to obtain peace. On the 28th of August he wrote, 'The work still spreads; more are awakened; more are converted; and almost every day new members are added to the Society. Last night I was called up at twelve o'clock, to praise God for the deliverance of one who had been ten days under deep conviction.'

Prosperity had continued to attend the labors of Bishop at St. John. This devoted minister had diligently pursued his work of preaching, and of visiting the members of the society, and any others in whom his keen eye could detect any sign of spiritual interest. His appearance was attractive; his bearing always that of a Chistian and a gentleman; a 'sweet serenity' adorned a countenance on which a smile was seldom seen, but every feature of which indicated a mind influenced by purposes of a noble order. With such qualities he soon won the respect and love of all who knew him. His spirit glowed with holy zeal. No victor gloried more in trophies won by his sword than did Bishop over those in whom he saw the happy results of

the travail of his Redeemer's soul. So far from confining himself to a single service on the Sabbath, as the mayor had suggested, house-to-house prayer-meetings, led by himself whenever possible, in dwellings crowded to the very street, bore witness to the untiring zeal of the minister, and the unflagging interest of his congregation. 'I ought,' he wrote to a friend, 'to love much, for much has been done for me.' While, however, he seemed omnipresent in work, he struggled hard with weakness. In April, 1792, he wrote, 'I need help, for my body is very weak, and the work is great, both here and up the river. I hope the Conference will send us help; men filled with faith and the fruit thereof.' Six weeks later, he left St. John, to devote a few months to other parts of the provincial field. On the evening of May 16th, 1792, he preached his last sermon in the city. Black was there, and McColl also. Their labor, in addition to his, had kindled the zeal of the society into a hallowed flame. The counsels addressed by the Apostle to his friends at Corinth; 'Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you,'[1] furnished the preacher with a theme for his farewell address. At the close of Bishop's sermon, Black spoke upon the Lord's Supper, and upon the circumstances under which they were then to celebrate it, and proceeded to the administration of the ordinance. McColl then gave an address. Singing, prayer, and exhortation followed the communion service; and when the midnight hour drew near, the congregation dispersed. On the following morning, all the members of the society, and many others, bade him farewell, as he went on board the vessel which was to bear him away from their sight.

[1] 2 Cor. 13, 11.

The months which elapsed before Bishop's departure in October for the General Conference at Baltimore, were spent chiefly in Cumberland. The work there had for some time been declining, but the conversion of several persons, under the ministry of John Black, during the winter of 1791, had given promise of brighter days. The earnest ministrations and pastoral visits of Bishop, during the succeeding summer, gave the work in that circuit a still brighter aspect. In September he left Cumberland to seek a passage to Baltimore. Dr. Coke had written to him, asking him to remove to the island of Grenada, where his knowlege of the French language would enable him to preach the Gospel to the negroes, few of whom could understand English. Bishop thought it his duty to comply with the Doctor's request; but his friends, who knew that the weakness of his constitution unfitted him for labor in the relaxing climate of the West Indies,were extremely unwilling to allow him to proceed to a mission, in which they foresaw that his days would be few. While he awaited, at Shelburne, the departure of the vessel in which he had taken passage for the United States, they consulted an experienced physician, who told them that, in the event of his removal to the West Indies, 'he would soon follow Mr. Wray.' Robert Barry spent a part of the night, preceding the sailing of the vessel, in writing to Dr. Coke, to prevent him, if possible, from 'risking a life so valuable in that unhealthy climate.' The efforts of his friends, however, proved useless; and he went to Grenada. In January, 1793, Dr. Coke introduced him to the little society there; and on the 16th of June, in the same year. he died of yellow fever, after having crowded into a few months labors productive of rare spiritual results. 'I have shewn you how to live, I will now show you how to die,

he had said in the course of a sermon preached on the Sabbath of his last week on earth. The words, unintentionally prophetic, thus received an unexpected fulfilment. His brethren say of him in the Minutes of 1794, 'He was one of the holiest young men on earth. He lived continually within the veil, and his soul uninterruptedly burned for the salvation of souls. He was instant in season and out of season; a useful preacher all the day long, without the least breach of modesty and decorum.'

Duncan McColl, after Bishop's departure from St. John, proceeded up the river. At Fredericton he found a society of thirteen members, which increased, during his stay, to thirty-three. On his way down the river, he formed two other societies, one of fifty-four, and the other of fourteen members. Upon his arrival at St. John, he found the work in a prosperous state under the care of William Grandin. To permit Grandin to accomplish a long-cherished purpose to visit Prince Edward Island, he remained in the city seven weeks. Upon his return to St. Stephen, he found a letter from Black, who was about to proceed to the General Conference at Baltimore, placing the work in the city, and along the river St. John, under his care; but upon his arrival in the city, he found James Mann settled there for the winter. He therefore proceeded up the river, to Long Island, where he found that 'Antinomianism' had made sad havoc with the societies formed by himself in the spring. He remained among them three weeks, and then left them in a 'deplorable state.'

At Maugerville, near Sheffield, McColl had an encounter with a party of enthusiasts, whose conduct is still a matter of tradition among the elder residents of that part of New Brunswick. 'During the winter of 1791,' says McColl, 'while brother Bishop was preach-

ing on the east and west sides of the river St. John, a precious work broke out among the people. But these were a people who professed to be awakened to a true sense of religion, under the ministry of Mr. Henry Alline, a number of years past. Some of them were well informed; their morals also were good. They were highly esteemed by other Christians. The generality of them fell in with Mr. Bishop and the work, and proved faithful. But unhappily, five and twenty of them fell under the influence of pride, and began to pretend to pre-eminence in the Spirit's power and experience. They separated from the rest, and became extravagant indeed. They soon undertook to prophesy, and to speak with new tongues, and to work miracles. They called multitudes together, to hear their new language, and to witness the miracles about to be performed by two of their number. By the time I got up they were fully engaged. They sometimes broke into other public meetings, and scattered the congregations. I had several times conversed with the ringleader of them, but they always kept within bounds while with me. This rather surprised many, for I always spoke plainly to them. However, an old gentleman who was the father and grandfather of a number of them, being a Presbyterian, and a steady, good man, opposed them much, and sent word to me that, as he was old and unable to attend public worship, he wished me to preach an evening sermon at his house, where a good congregation could be accommodated. I appointed a meeting there on Sunday evening, and found four rooms well filled; and among others, Mr. and Mrs. P., the latter of whom was the old gentleman's daughter, together with more of the party. So soon as I finished my sermon, Mrs. P., who was a very stout woman, arose and took me by the

collar, saying, 'Where hast thou gleaned to-day?' She kept knocking with her fist upon my breast, and repeating, 'Where hast thou gleaned to-day?' and a number of such questions. I spoke a little to her and her party, for some others began to act in a similar manner. I observed some half-pay officers of my acquaintance, who saw what was going on, get together, and commence pushing through the crowd towards me: they appeared much offended, and were about to use rough means against these unhappy people. I turned to them, and said, 'Captain R., if you have any respect for religion, for me, or for the congregation, come no further. I shall not suffer any harm by these people. Let me talk to them, and I will dismiss the meeting as usual.' The officers took my advice, and the others sat down. They found, after a while, that they were left alone. They went on from bad to worse, until the authorities took them up, and put two of the leaders in prison, where they were kept for several months. They then denied the truth of all religion, and became a very gay and dressy people. Several years after this, as I was down at the Sheffield meeting-house, I saw a crowd of them coming to hear me in the afternoon, and that was the last I saw of them, for they soon dispersed, sold their good farms, and moved up the river. This delusion had a bad effect, for although the people left them to themselves, they took up the thoughts and conversation so as to divert the minds of others from better employment. I have only touched on their conduct. Were I to give a full history of their extravagances, I would astonish my readers. These were not the poor, or the uninformed, but people in good standing in the world. And some before this were considered to be sincere Christians.' If tradition may be depended upon, McColl

has indeed, touched lightly upon the 'extravagances' of this deluded people. Some, it is said, went crawling about like wild beasts; and some rode about on the backs of others. 'And the devil rode us both,' said one of the parties concerned, some years after, in reply to an unwelcome allusion to some of the disgraceful scenes of that period.

McColl remained at Sheffield, during the latter part of the winter, and collected a class of twenty six members. In the spring of 1793 he left the work on the river in charge of Grandin, and went to the city, where James Mann only awaited his arrival to proceed to Nova Scotia. At St. John, where he found some 'uneasiness' in the society, he remained a few weeks, and then returned to his head-quarters at St. Stephen. He there learned with pleasure that the members of his flock, in the absence of their pastor, had regularly met for their mutual edification. For some time, he continued to travel between St. Stephen and St. John, watching over the work in both circuits as far as possible, and receiving some assistance from Stephen Humbert, and from one or two exhorters, who had been raised up under the ministry of Bishop.

In travelling through that section of the Wallace circuit which is situated on the sea-coast, a long, low line in the distance, is pointed out to the stranger as Prince Edward Island. The ice of winter renders the Straits of Northumberland, which lie between that island, and the harbors on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, impassable by the ordinary modes of communication. Grandin, while at Wallace, in the winter of 1791-2, had desired to extend his mission across the Straits, but had been hindered by the icy barrier. Still possessed by the wish to preach the Gospel there,

he availed himself of the presence of McColl in St. John, in the spring of 1792, to visit the island. The results of the few weeks, spent there by Grandin, are worthy of record. At Tryon, where he preached the largest number of sermons, an extensive revival took place. After his departure, the work continued, until nearly all the Protestants in the village, and some of the Roman Catholics, were awakened. As usual, an 'Antinomian' preacher followed in the wake of Grandin, and drew a number of the converts away. From the Island, Grandin returned to St. John, where, beloved by the society and congregation, the numbers of both suffered no diminution under his care.

During the revival under Grandin's ministry at Tryon, Nathanael Wright and his wife, the first of a worthy succession of that name among the Methodists of Prince Edward Island, became conscious of their need of salvation. A few months later, Wright was enabled to rejoice in the forgiveness of sins. A part of his house, left without partition-walls for the use of dancing parties, was at once devoted to religious purposes. To many, who listened to the occasional sermons preached, or attended the prayer-meetings, held in that room, it became a place of hallowed religious joy. An incident, illustrative of the influence of Nathanael Wright's early religious life, has been recorded. Prejudice, ever quick to discover improper motives for the performance of worthy deeds, led those who had refused to yield to the influences which had produced a reformation in the lives of others, to maintain that their neighbors who had professed conversion were merely 'whitewashed,' while in heart as wicked as ever. A young Roman Catholic, who officiated among his neighbors as a sort of priest, was attending some snares, in the neighborhood of the lot where Mr. Wright was

cutting firewood, when he heard a 'loud murmur.' Supposing Mr. Wright to be cursing his cattle, he quietly approached the spot whence the 'murmur' proceeded, expecting, with a certain degree of unhappy exultation, to be able from personal knowledge to confirm the reports which prejudice had put in circulation; but, to his great surprise, he found his neighbor kneeling on the snow, and engaged in earnest prayer. At that moment, the young man's prejudices received a shock from which they never recovered. He commenced to read the Scriptures, and the light of the Holy Spirit descended into his mind. At length, while reading the form of prayer used in Roman Catholic services, he was so powerfuly affected that the book fell from his hands; he made his convictions known to the congregation; and declared to them that while he still loved and respected them as neighbors, he could no longer be a Roman Catholic. Perplexed by the divisions of Protestantism, as many men have been through early training in a faith which loses sight of the existence of unity in diversity in religious opinion, and strives to cramp all thought into one prescribed mould, he did not connect himself with any branch of the Church for some years. After the birth of his first child, he was so fully persuaded that the babe would grow up to be a good man, that he retired, and entered into a solemn covenant with the Lord, to attach himself to that branch of the Church which his son should choose. The son at the age of sixteen joined the Methodist Church, and George Muttart paid his vow to the Most High by following his child's example. After years of communion with Christian friends, he died in the Lord. Nathanael Wright was a loyalist; one of that large number who met in Shelburne, only to be scattered more widely than before. From Bedeque, to which place he

removed soon after his conversion, he passed to an eternal home in 1825, leaving to his family and to the Church the valuable legacy of a rich and unspotted Christian character.

To Grandin, as an agent, belongs also the honor of having established Methodism among the neglected Highland settlers of the upper Nashwaak, previously visited by Bishop. Early in the winter of 1792, Grandin, accompanied by Duncan Blair, crossed the St. John, and set out on foot, on 'the worst of all the bad roads then in the province,' to find those settlers for whose souls no man cared. The preacher's message was thoughtfully received. Thus encouraged, he repeated his weary walk. In a short time, the results of his efforts were seen in the apparent conversion of not less than sixty persons. Success, so marked, awakened the spirit of persecution in the heart of one from whom it should have called forth utterances of thanksgiving. The Episcopal minister at Fredericton sought to close Grandin's lips by the aid of law.

McColl, then in Sheffield, received two letters at the close of a Sabbath morning service. The first was from Grandin. 'I am complained of,' he wrote, 'and must be silent till the sitting of the Supreme Court at Fredericton, for preaching, as it is alleged, contrary to law.' The second was from Earley, at Sussex Vale, He reported himself to be 'in danger of his life for preaching at the Pleasant Valley.' 'I saved myself,' he said, 'by hiding among the horned cattle in the stable.' The friend, who put these letters into McColl's hand, suggestively, added; 'They have taken Peter, and they are after Paul.' Convinced that no time should be lost, McColl resolved to act boldly, and at once. On the Monday morning he procured a horse, and rode to Frederic-

ton, where he found Grandin and Blair 'heavy-hearted enough.' 'You look pleasantly,' they said in answer to his cheerful greetings, 'but you will alter your looks before long.' Though gentle as a nurse among his spiritual children, McColl was not to be robbed of a single privilege belonging to a British subject, without the utterance of a vigorous protest. Blair, at his request went with him, and introduced him to Governor Carleton, and the Secretary, Odell. In the course of conversation, McColl complained of the rough usage offered to the Methodists in New Brunswick. The Governor and the Secretary replied that the law was against them, because they had not been licensed by the Governor, and had not taken the usual oaths. The justice of the latter charge, McColl admitted, while he called in question that of the former, as in his opinion, a call from a body of subjects, and a license from the Methodist Connexion, rendered a license from the Governor unnecessary. His Excellency listened to McColl's opinion, and then requested his presence at a meeting of the Council, to be held three weeks later. In answer to a question from the latter, respecting the course to be pursued by himself and his brethren during the interim, the Governor replied; 'Do as you have done,—you have my full liberty.' McColl then withdrew, quite satisfied with his reception. Prevented by a severe storm from attending the meeting of the Council, he called on the following day upon the Governor, who informed him that the members of the Council were unanimous in their opinion that no license was requisite; that he had requested the Speaker of the House to explain the law to him; and that the Secretary would administer the usual oaths to himself and his friends, at his office. McColl thanked the Governor, and never

ceased to regard him as 'a sincere friend.' The other officials also treated him with marked courtesy. Grandin's case was thrown out of court; and the clergyman who preferred the charge against him was soon after silenced by the Bishop, for immoral conduct. 'After this,' says McColl, 'we met with no other insult than some stones thrown at our places of worship.'

The statement of Earley respecting his dangerous situation at Sussex Vale, was unhappily, too true. That young minister, who had arrived in St. John, in June 1792, in search of a passage to the United States, having failed to find a vessel bound to New York, had, at the solicitation of friends, undertaken to visit some of the societies near the capital. The greater part of the distance was travelled by him on foot, accompanied for a part of the way by Stephen Humbert. After spending a few days in the neighborhood of the block-house on the Oromocto, and preaching there, he reached Fredericton, where he found a home with Duncan Blair. A pleasant Saturday evening was spent in conversation and prayer with several Christian soldiers, belonging to the two regiments then stationed in the town. On the following day his congregations consisted, with a few exceptions, of soldiers and colored people. In the autumn he returned to St. John. During a pleasant visit of several weeks, a few were added to the little church in the city. Early in the winter, he left that place to proceed some distance up the Kennebeccasis river. During the second day of his journey he lost his way in the woods, and wandered about till the crust which had formed on the snow cut away his shoes and stockings, and caused his feet to bleed freely. After having walked in that state for seven or eight miles, he reached a house, where he was glad to lie down upon the hearth,

with his handkerchief of clothes for a pillow, and get such sleep as his mangled feet would permit. The next day he reached his destination, forty or fifty miles up the river, where he preached and visited the people. More houses were offered for preaching-places than he could occupy, though he preached each day; and a class of nine members was formed, to which others were added before his departure. After he had fully recovered from the effects of his journey, he went to another neighborhood, eight or nine miles down the river. The resident magistrate resolved to prevent him from preaching, and sent a constable, who arrived during the service, pushed through the congregation, and seizing him by the shoulder, dragged him out of the house. The constable then read the warrant, and accompanied by several others, led him along to the residence of the magistrate. On the way thither some threatened to drown him, and others with oaths declared that they would kill him in the woods. After some conversation with him, and the examination of several witnesses, the magistrate informed him that he would impose a heavy fine. Earley then drew from his pocket a license given him by the Governor, permitting him to preach in any part of the province, so long as his conduct should be in accordance with the character of the ministry. The magistrate, quite confounded by the production of the license, sought to effect a compromise by an offer to overlook the past, if the preacher would promise to leave the settlement; but his offer was rejected. On the following Sabbath a large number met for public worship. A Baptist preacher was invited to conduct the service, by Earley, who had not intended to preach. On the refusal of the former, Earley, who was unwilling on the one hand to dismiss the congregation, or on the other, to

assume an appearance of hostility to the magistrate, gave an address without using a book, or quoting a text. Three persons are said to have been converted through attendance at that service. On the following Tuesday, the magistrate, who had been falsely informed that Earley had expressed a determination 'to preach in spite of him, or any other man, or law, in the province,' issued another warrant, and sent the constable to apprehend him. Informed of the magistrate's intention, Earley went to the house of a friend, who concealed him in his cellar, where, with a candle and a book, he remained from eight in the morning until sunset. After watching for several days in vain, the constable with a party of seven, visited the house where Earley generally lodged, and near midnight demanded admission. Some demur having been made, the door was broken open, the owner of the dwelling knocked down, and the house searched from garret to cellar. The next house was broken open and searched in the same way. Earley who slept in the adjoining dwelling, was awakened by a lad who had been disturbed by the party, and advised to make his escape into the woods. Partially clad, he ran to an old barn at some distance from the house, and crept in among the cattle, and then into the hay, where he remained until the morning, nearly perished with the cold. After his return to the house, a friend or two came in, and a little meeting was held. Several such services were afterwards held, at hours when they were not likely to be disturbed. Another attempt to seize Earley was also foiled by his concealment in the cellars of his friends. About the middle of January, 1793, he bade farewell to 'the few friends of Jesus,' in Pleasant Valley, and set out for the Cumberland circuit. After resting for a day or two at Squire Black's, at Dorchester, he moved on to Sack-

ville. 'I met,' he says 'with some dear good old friends here, who were still seeking for the mind that was in Christ. They seemed like fathers to me, and my soul gathered strength among them.' After having spent part of the month of April at St. John, he sailed on the 1st of May for New York. A sad illustration of the wretched provision made for the support of the itinerants of that day is found in the fact that the son of an American Methodist, in whose father's house there was plenty, was obliged, at the termination of his two year's mission in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, to sell his saddle-bags and a pair of shoes, to make up his passage-money. After his return to the United States, he travelled in a number of circuits in Delaware, Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1821, unable any longer to labor, he became superannuated. Severe affliction marked the close of his life. A few months after his retirement, at Newark, Del., he 'met death triumphantly, in the full assurance of faith.'

Black, having been requested by Dr. Coke to meet him at the General Conference at Baltimore, sailed for Philadelphia, in October, 1792. His purpose was to obtain additional laborers for the provincial work. Greater success than he dared to expect attended his efforts. In addition to James Mann, who had returned in the autumn, after one year's ministry in New York, came Isaac Lunsford, a judicious minister, of four years experience in the itinerancy; Benjamin Wilson, of Virginia, who had entered the ministry in 1790; and Daniel Fidler, a young man, who at the age of sixteen had joined the Methodists, at the age of eighteen had entered the ministry, and during the three and a half years which preceded his appointment to Nova Scotia, had travelled 'circuits which extended through the western sections

of Virginia and Pennsylvania into Ohio, a region which then lay on the western frontier of the United States.' These welcome helpers at once prepared for their journey, and reached Nova Scotia in December. Lunsford remained at Shelburne during the winter, while Wilson proceeded, it is probable, to Annapolis, and Fidler to Liverpool.

Coke had a different object in view when he had requested Black to meet him at Baltimore. He had arranged that Black should assume the charge of a part of the work in the West Indies; and in his room had appointed John Harper, who had labored some years in those islands, as presiding elder for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. In order to ascertain the character of the climate, Black sailed from New York, in December, with Dr. Coke and Abraham Bishop, and attended the 'West India Conference,' held in Antigua, in February, 1793. At that Conference the West Indian missions were divided into two districts; and it was arranged that the presiding officer in each should he known as the 'presiding elder.' John Baxter, was chosen as the official head of the Antigua District; and William Black, who had yielded to the solicitations of Dr. Coke respecting removal, was elected presiding elder of the St. Kitts District, which included St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Eustatius, Anguilla, Tortola, and all the other Virgin Islands, including the Danish and Swedish islands. Black's official relation to the work in Nova Scotia was thus virtually dissolved. At the close of the Conference he sailed for the provinces, to make arrangements for the removal of his family to St. Kitts.

On his arrival at Liverpool in April, Black found the work in that place prospering under the care of Fidler.

In March, the Newlight congregation, over which the Rev. John Payzant had just been settled, took possession of the Congregational meeting-house, and the Methodists, who by mutual arrangement vacated it, took immediate steps towards the erection of a church of their own. Several of the leading Congregationalists, who, after repeated attempts to obtain a pastor, had abandoned all effort in that direction, gave the whole weight of their influence to the Methodists, and rendered them valuable assistance. Black, always popular at Liverpool, entered heartily into the scheme for the erection of the church, and in the course of a few days obtained, in cash and subscriptions, the sum of three hundred pounds. William Smith, a staunch Methodist, in whose house Black had held some of his first services at Liverpool, and Bartlett Bradford, and John Kirk, who had removed from Shelburne, were appointed trustees. With these were associated two others, who had been known as prominent Congregationalists. These were Simeon Perkins and Samuel Hunt, Esqrs.

Colonel Perkins, as the former of the two was usually called by his friends, was at the head of the list of trustees. He was a native of Norwich, Conn. His parents, who were Congregationalists, had trained him in the leading doctrines of their faith. When a young man he became alarmed about his spiritual state, and received 'some divine consolations.' In 1762, at the age of twenty seven, he removed to Liverpool, where he commenced business as a merchant. From an early period, and for many years, with the approbation of the government, to the satisfaction of the public, and with honor to himself, he filled several important positions in the county. In 1772, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the militia, and in 1793,

Colonel-Commandant at Liverpool. On one occasion, when a superior revolutionary force had landed from some American vessels, and surprised the regular troops, he re-took the garrison; and in consequence his battalion was honored by the officer in command in the Province, with the title of the 'Queen's Buffs.' For thirty years he was Judge of Probate, and for thirty-five years a representative of the county in the Provincial Assembly. As years advanced, he declined re-nomination to the Legislature, and resigned, in succession, the different offices he had held. His reading enabled him to give an intelligent answer to those who asked a reason of the hope that was in him. As life drew to its close, his talents and usefulness were mentioned, not as a foundation for hope, but as cause for thankfulness. 'True, 'he remarked,' as a matter of thankfulness; but Christ alone is my hope. I might have been more useful; my goodness extends not to God. Various notions have passed through my mind in the course of my life; I have but one now.' In May, 1812, at the age of seventy-seven, he breathed his last, exclaiming, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!' Deacon Hunt, who had for several years conducted religious services in the absence of a minister, had also secured the high esteem of all who knew him. His later days were somewhat clouded by trials, arising from the depressed state of business, but in 1800, the 'good old deacon,' as he was called by one who knew him well, passed beyond all sorrow. His death caused the first vacancy in the board of trustees. On the 9th of June, 1793, the Methodists of Liverpool held the first service in the shell of their new church.

In April, Black reached Halifax from the West Indies. He found the new church there handsomely finished, and preached within its walls with great satisfaction. The

spiritual interests of the society had also prospered under Jessop, who had left the town a month previously for Shelburne, on his way to New York. 'The Lord has rendered him a messenger of peace to many souls,' wrote a leader in the church in Halifax. Boyd, at Horton, at the same time reported an addition to the membership in that circuit of more than thirty members.

The annual Conference of 1793 was held at Windsor. Its sessions were commenced on the 5th of June, and concluded on the following day. The most important subject for discussion was the contemplated removal of Black to the West Indies. His absence for a few months had clearly convinced his brethren that no other minister, however pious and judicious, could fully supply his place in a field in which he had been the first to labor. The members of the Conference hoped for a personal interview with Dr. Coke, whose arrival from Jamaica was daily expected. The Doctor, however, at the time of their meeting, was on his way to England; important engagements there, and detention for two or three weeks at Barbadoes, having led him to sail by the first opportunity, without waiting for a convoy. The ministers, therefore, unanimously adopted a resolution to address him upon the subject, and to request that Black should not, upon any consideration, be removed from Nova Scotia. Previously to the receipt of their memorial, the Doctor had written to Black giving him precise directions respecting route, travelling arrangements and expenses; but the force of the representations made by the provincial ministers was so strong that he acquiesced in their wishes, and countermanded the appointment. The number of members reported at the Conference was nine hundred and eighty-nine.

CHAPTER X.

METHODISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF JOHN McGEARY, IN 1785, TO THAT OF JAMES BULPIT IN 1799.

John McGeary. Failure of Hammett and Clarke to reach Newfoundland. Lack of harmony among the preachers. Correspondence of Wesley respecting it. Return of McGeary to England. Erection of a church at Harbor Grace by Stretton. Religious condition of that place. Visit of William Black to Newfoundland. Extensive revival. Results of Black's visit. Incident connected with Hoskins' helpers. George Vey. Robert Carr Brackenbury. Stretton's appeal to him for a preacher. Arrival of George Smith. His application for employment by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His return to Newfoundland with William Thoresby. His illness at Bonavista. His subsequent labors there. Charles Saint. Smith's return to England. Hardships and pleasures of the voyage. Return of Thoresby. Arrival of James Bulpit.

John McGeary, on his arrival in Newfoundland, received a hearty welcome from Stretton. The endeavor to attend to his secular business, and to take at the same time the oversight of the spiritual interests of a number of persons, to whom the movements and ministry of the Episcopal missionary were distasteful, Stretton had found to be a heavy, and, in some respects, an unsuccessful effort. His personal experience had thus prompted him, when making the announcement of McGeary's arrival, to add, 'a preacher should not be entangled with the affairs of this life.'

McGeary, a native of Ireland, had previously travelled in the United States. His name appears in the American Minutes of 1782, among those of twelve new laborers. He had returned to Britain in 1784. 'I had a long conversation,' wrote Wesley, in his journal, in October of that year, 'with John McGeary, one of our Ameri-

can preachers, just come to England. He gave a pleasing account of the work of God, there continually increasing, and vehemently importuned me to pay a visit to America before I die.' At the Conference of 1785, McGeary was appointed a missionary to Newfoundland.

The Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, sent out his disciples by two and two. Wesley, as an under-shepherd, endeavoured, whenever possible, to follow the example of his Master. In his second effort to provide for the spiritual necessities of the settlers in Newfoundland he lost sight of that lesson, and found a new illustration of its importance, in McGeary's partial failure. The latter, on his arrival, found himself surrounded by depressing influences, to which he too readily yielded. In less than a month after the commencement of his work at Carbonear, Stretton wrote; 'Everything here appears so disagreeable to Mr. McGeary, that I fear he will not abide long.' McGeary, however, remained for some time at his post, and succeeded in the erection of a church at Carbonear, where he spent the greater part of his time. The appointment in 1786 of Messrs. Hammett and Clarke as additional ministers for the Island, and the circumstances under which they reached Antigua, have been stated in a previous chapter. Their failure to reach their intended destination was felt as a deep disappointment by those who anxiously awaited their arrival in Newfoundland.

Lack of harmony among the Protestant laborers involved a loss of influence, which could ill be suffered in the presence of Popish aggression. McGeary, quick and impulsive in disposition, allowed himself to be drawn into a 'little contest' with Balfour, the Episcopal minister at Carbonear, whose expectations of 'bringing the Methodists to a better mind, by gentle applications,' had

proved to be vain. More serious in its results was the lack of harmony between the one itinerant and the two local preachers, laboring under Wesley's direction. McGeary failed to co-operate in a cordial spirit with Hoskins and Stretton; and the latter two, through causes not stated, were unable to see eye to eye in the prosecution of a work in which both were deeply interested. Wesley was sorely grieved by these discords. In a letter to Black, only sixteen months after the arrival of his itinerant in Newfoundland, he wrote: 'Poor John McGeary appears to be utterly discouraged; not only through want of success, but through want of the conveniences, yea, necessaries of life. Truly, if I could have supposed that those who made me fair promises, would have suffered a preacher to want bread, I should have sent him into other parts where he would have wanted nothing.'

These disputes caused Wesley no small amount of correspondence. Hoskins had objections to the course pursued by Stretton, which he thought of sufficient importance to be laid before Wesley. The latter, in writing some months later to Stretton, informed him of a 'confused remembrance' of some objections made against him by his lay fellow-laborer; and warning him to 'take the utmost care, that the good that is in us be not evil spoken of,' expressed a hope that, if 'some foundation' for these objections had existed, they were by that time removed. 'I wish,' Wesley also wrote to Black, 'you would do all you can to keep our brethren in peace with each other, and your pains will not be lost on poor John McGeary. There is much good in him. Indeed, he is naturally of a bold, forward temper, but I hope his zeal is now according to knowledge. Undoubtedly you know the objections which John Hoskins makes to

John Stretton. If there be any ground for these, should you not freely and lovingly talk with brother Stretton?'

Wesley's efforts failed to secure the unity for which he had hoped. He, therefore, early in 1789, wrote again to Stretton; 'What concerns me, is that I cannot find any union between you northern preachers. John Hoskins, John McGeary, and John Stretton, I should imagine would have acted in concert; but on the contrary, each seems to be afraid of the other. How is this? What is the true ground of the shyness? What objections have you to John Hoskins or John McGeary? What objections have they to you? 'Tis a pity but you had all spoken freely to your affectionate brother, John Wesley.

Under such circumstances, growth in the membership could not be expected. The marriage of McGeary to the daughter of a planter, without the consent of the father, apparently put a period to his usefulness at Carbonear; and in November, 1788, after having 'brought upon himself multiplied vexations, and a flood of reproach upon the cause' he sailed for England, regretted by few. Stretton still sought to do all in his power at Harbor Grace. In spite of many discouragements, he began the erection of a church, which he opened for worship on the last day of August, 1788. 'I built it,' he wrote his old correspondent, Mrs. Bennis, 'at my own expense, for we have no society, and this is the only thing at present that keeps up the Protestant name in the place. The Protestant minister is worse than none, and few go to church; while Popery like a deluge sweeps away the rest.' Having completed his little church, Stretton wrote to a young man of Waterford, Ireland, asking him to come out to Newfoundland and 'preach the Gospel for one summer freely.' This step, in view of the past,

he took with fear and trembling. 'Is the young man fit for the work' he said to his old friend at Limerick? 'Has he gifts and grace? Do not let him come to do hurt, but O, encourage him, if he is likely to do good. May the next that comes be one that Christ the Lord shall send.' It does not appear that Stretton's earnest appeal received a favorable answer. His review of the moral and religious state of Harbor Grace at the end of 1790, was of a gloomy character. 'This place,' he said, 'is like Sodom in everything but fulness of bread, and I am here alone, with not one family heartily religious that I can associate with, or hold any profitable converse with, all this dreary winter.' 'I go on in a public way as usual,' he added. 'Since I opened the meeting-house many attend on Sabbath evenings; but I cannot observe much good done. Two or three were wrought upon last winter who still seem in earnest.'

In accordance, it is probable, with an arrangement made between Coke and himself at Philadelphia, Black at length resolved to visit Newfoundland. On his return to Halifax from the New York Conference of 1791, he had intended to proceed at once to St. Stephen, and to the River St. John, but, finding in the harbor a vessel bound to Newfoundland, he was led to re-arrange his plans and secure a passage for the island. The insolent conduct and blasphemous language of the captain led Black at the last moment to regret his change of route. 'Satan,' he afterwards wrote 'had well nigh carried his point. I gave orders for my trunk to be taken on shore again, but it was all in vain; go, I must, unless I left my trunk and lost the three pounds I had had to pay for my passage.' In the evening the captain apologised, and throughout the passage, treated Black with much more kindness than the latter had expected. Convinced that the

work in Newfoundland had reached a crisis at which unusual spiritual power and a high degree of ministerial fidelity were demanded, Black sought on the passage, in fervent prayer, the necessary preparation for the work which lay before him. He landed at St. John's, on the 10th of August, and immediately waited upon Mr. Jones, the Congregational Minister, whom he found to be a man of deep piety and catholic spirit. After spending a day at St. John's, he left that place for Carbonear. During the preceding year McGeary had returned to that station. He now met Black with deep emotion. Completely disheartened, he had been on the point of abandoning the field. 'I have been weeping before the Lord,' he said to Black as they met, 'over my lonely situation and the darkness of the people, but your coming is like life from the dead.'

But few traces of the revival under Coughlan's ministry at Carbonear and Harbor Grace were visible to Black on his arrival. A portion of the fruits had been gathered into the everlasting garner, and some were doubtless to be found in other parts of the island, and elsewhere; but at Carbonear only fifteen females remained to testify to the power of Christ on earth to forgive sins. At Harbor Grace, Black found a class of twelve or thirteen faithful women, but no organized society.

Under Black's first sermon at Carbonear, the secret prayer and meditation of the passage were openly rewarded. Many who listened to his exposition of Acts 2: 42, were convinced of their 'foul revolt,' and some others seemed deeply affected. The blessed influence which attended that service was a cheering prelude of the season of refreshing which was to follow. On the following Sabbath the power of the Spirit was present to wound and to heal. At the close of the pub-

lic services of that day thirty-seven remained to meet in the class. During the sermon on Tuesday evening, 'some,' says Black, 'began to cry out. I stopped preaching and began to pray. My voice was soon drowned; I left the pulpit, and went up and down the church exhorting those that were wounded and crying for mercy to look unto Jesus as their only Redeemer. Weeping was on every side. About thirty were under deep distress, if we might so conclude from weeping eyes, solemn groans, shrill cries, self-accusations, and serious reiterated inquiries, of 'What must I do to be saved?' In the midst of the general distress one young person arose, and declared the loving kindness of the Lord to her soul. I requested those who were in distress to withdraw to Brother McGeary's house, but they would not leave the church; so that it was between nine and ten o'clock before the meeting broke up. After they left the church one might hear the language of distress for a considerable distance in various directions.' On the 20th, 'three professed converting grace.' With similar entries the journal kept by Black in Newfoundland abounds.

The inhabitants of the other settlements on the shores of Conception Bay also shared in the deep religious interest of that period. At the close of the first service at Harbor Grace, a number of inquirers followed Black to Stretton's house, where he talked and prayed with them until compelled to desist by exhaustion. From that meeting a young Englishman went away rejoicing in Jesus. On another occasion three hours were spent by forty or fifty persons in confession of sin, and prayer for forgiveness. Some of the repentant ones at Harbor Grace had been among the greatest enemies of the work of God in that place. On the 21st of August, Black preached at Port de Grave and Bay Roberts to large congrega-

tions. At the former place he found a class of twenty-seven members, who had been gathered chiefly by the efforts of George Vey. 'I added four to their number,' says Black, 'furnished them with a class-paper, explained the rules of the Society, and left them in the charge of George Vey, the leader, a pious young man, who, I trust, will be a blessing to them.' Three or four days were spent by Black and McGeary at Blackhead. In that place some animosities were removed, some souls awakened, some new members added to the Society, and the membership generally encouraged and strengthened. Forty persons were at this time enrolled in the classes. Two new classes were also formed at Freshwater. Black was informed that about thirty persons were meeting in the classes under Hoskins. Fear of detention on the island through the winter prevented him from visiting the evangelist at his home at Old Perlican.

After having made arrangements, by which the church and dwelling at Carbonear were properly secured to the Conference, Black prepared to depart. On Sunday, September 4th, he administered the Lord's Supper to about one hundred and thirty communicants. 'Such a communion service' the preacher had never seen. An awful sense of the Divine presence seemed to pervade every heart. Several backsliders were reclaimed. The love-feast, held on the afternoon of the same day, Black could not attempt to describe. The cries of the penitent and the songs of the pardoned drowned his voice. Some, during the service, were made conscious of forgiveness, and gave immediate testimony to the fact. 'It was hard work,' says Black, 'to tear away from them. I was nearly an hour shaking hands with them, some twice and thrice over, and even then we hardly knew how to part, but I at last rushed from among them, and left them weeping

as for an only son.' Not less than two hundred souls, we are told by Richard Knight, afterwards a missionary in the island, were converted to God during this brief visit of Black to Conception Bay. But the fruits of the visit must not be limited to the immediate results. Through the proper organization of the classes; the settlement of the mission property upon the connexional plan; the knowledge obtained respecting the work in the island; and especially through the increased numbers and more vigorous spiritual life of the membership, a guarantee for the permanance of the work was obtained, and a foundation laid on which others might successfully build.

When half a century had passed, there yet remained, on the shores of Conception Bay, solitary individuals—links between the past and the present,—who delighted to speak of the hallowed scenes connected with that visit. 'He's slow to anger, I'm sure he is, said one of those aged ones at Blackhead, to a minister of the present day, as with trembling finger he pointed to the eighth verse of the one hundred and third Psalm; He's slow to anger, I'm sure he is, for he loves me still.' 'When were you brought to know the Lord Jesus as your Saviour?' the visitor asked. 'Many years ago, when Parson Black came into these parts,' the old man answered. 'There was a terrible alarm among sinners at that time. We were afraid to hear the man. But I went nothing afraid of the man, but something he said scared me terribly. I see'd myself a new man that night. I see'd God was angry wi' me then, and I cried for mercy. Nor did I rest till I knew that his anger was turned away and that Jesus died to save me'[1]

The successful labors of John Hoskins in Newfound-

[1] Rev. J. Brewster, in 'Wesleyan,' Oct. 27th, 1849.

land, terminated about this period. His end is involved in some mystery. Either before or after his departure from England for Newfoundland, he had projected some improvement in navigation, by means of a new nautical instrument, or by an improved method of taking observations. A scientific friend in England corresponded with him, until he thought himself master of Hoskins' theory, and then ceased to write. Hoskins resolved to visit England to introduce his theory of invention to the notice of the public, but on his arrival, found that his supposed friend had presented it to a 'Royal Society' as his own. He is believed to have died in England.

Through the ministry of Hoskins, some had been raised up at an early date to assist him at Old Perlican. Upon these he had looked with special satisfaction; for God had given them to him from the ranks of his opposers, among whom they had been leaders. Their conversion stands out prominently among the many proofs afforded by Newfoundland of the power of the Gospel of Christ. The most noted of these helpers of Hoskins was John Barber, the former leader of the 'baser sort.' His predecessor, Samuel Champion had pledged himself to pull Hoskins from the preachers' stand, and one evening went with this intention, but words uttered by Hoskins, as Champion entered the room, riveted his attention, and so affected him that he remained after the departure of the worshippers, and, almost in despair, revealed to the preacher his intended purpose, asked his forgiveness, and sought that which Heaven only can bestow. At once he became a pupil in Hoskins' night-school, and in a short time rejoiced in his ability to read a chapter from the Word of God, which became thenceforth his chief delight. Hoskins' opponents, thus forsaken, selected for their leader, John Barber, a more

intelligent man than themselves, whose uncommon powers of wit and repartee had been so prostituted by low buffoonery and obscenity as to secure for him from his comrades the unenviable title of 'Black Barber.' Champion's conversion had affected the hearts of several of his former companions. Barber resolved to influence these through ridicule, and therefore went to listen to Hoskins, to whom he was a stranger. He listened attentively, subdued by a solemn awe, and went home with little disposition to mock the messenger of God. He listened again, grew sad through his recollections of a wasted life, and resolved to yield himself unto God. One evening as he lay on his bed, uttering the prayer, 'Lord lift thou up the light of thy countenance,' a light shone round him like that which startled Saul. The terror which seized him was soon succeeded by a joy to which he had been a stranger. He at once began to testify of the grace by which he had been saved, and through his powerful appeals, pointed by the relation of his own experience, not a few of his old companions in sin were deeply impressed, and led with conquered hearts to seek forgiveness. By Hoskins' advice, after some hesitation, he took a passage of Scripture as a text, and, in Hoskins' absence, addressed his neighbors. Barber's strong faith in God rendered him a 'wondrous man,' in the eyes of his neighbors, to whom it seemed that the operation of natural causes was often suspended, as he addressed his God in simple phrase. His attachment to Hoskins was so strong that he cleared a piece of land and built a small dwelling, as near his resi dence as possible. Faithful unto death, he departed from another mission station in the the island, at the age of seventy-five, to receive the promised crown.[2] Such was

[2] MS of John Tilley, of Trinity Bay.

one of those to whom Hoskins referred, when, in 1784, he wrote to Wesley, 'We have likewise several preachers raised out of these stones, who are blessed in their labors.'

McGeary remained in Newfoundland but a few months after Black's departure. He reached England previously to the Conference of 1792, at which he received an appointment to an English circuit. During the following year he withdrew from the ministry. The work thus devolved again, for a season, upon local laborers who had already borne much of the burden and heat of the day. A few weeks after Black's departure, Stretton, whom Black called a 'judicious and upright man,' wrote that he had 'gathered nearly sixty young people and children,' who had 'serious impressions on their minds.' 'This,' said he, 'is the day I have longed for.' The young man left in charge at Port de Grave proved a blessing, as Black had hoped. George Vey, who had been convinced of sin, while listening to a sermon preached by Stretton, became a highly acceptable local preacher. From the time of his conversion to that of his death, a period of more than forty years, he maintained the life of a Christian, with rare 'firmness, consistency, and zeal.' Beloved by all who knew him, he exerted a salutary influence upon the district in which he resided; and at length, full of years, and of the honor which God giveth, went triumphantly home On New Year's day, 1835, his wife and children saw that his end was approaching, and his spirit ripening for glory. The few days they were permitted to spend with him were rich in blessing. During his restless slumbers, as well as in his waking hours, his thoughts were in eternity and religion was his theme. Praise was his 'last employ.' When speech failed, his uplifted hand testified that God gave him the victory, through our Lord Jesus

Christ.[3] The mantle of the dying father fell upon his son Christopher, who became a worthy successor of that father in the ranks of the local ministry.

With praiseworthy perseverance, Stretton resolved once more to use his pen in an effort to obtain a preacher 'wholly devoted to the work.' Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq., of Raithby Hall, Lincolnshire, was one of Wesley's preachers. Wesley first makes mention of him in 1776. He was convinced of sin while at Cambridge, and after a brief space obtained an assurance of pardon. At Hull he met one of Wesley's itinerants. 'By long and close conversation with him, says Wesley, 'he was convinced that it was his duty to join the people called Methodists. At first, indeed, he staggered at lay preaching, but after weighing the matter more deeply he began preaching, himself, and found a very remarkable blessing, both in his own soul and in his labors.' Wesley, who had generally found his firm friends and most faithful laborers among a class, lower in social position, according to the popular estimate, than that in which Brackenbury had moved, did not at once give him the confidence he deserved. 'Mr Brackenbury,' he wrote, four years after their first interview, 'seems to be better with regard to his bodily health, but he is married! And I shall not be much disappointed if he soon takes leave of the Methodists.' Happily, Wesley erred in his estimate of his friend. Brackenbury's conversion had been too thorough to allow him to be influenced by those silly and degrading motives which not unfrequently lead individuals and families to change their church relationships. A man of wealth, with an elegant home; and endowed with a fine poetic taste, and no little poetic talent, aided by culture; he had placed all on the altar

[3] Ellidge's 'Sermon on the death of George Vey.'

of consecration. Wealthy men, too often, it is to be feared, offer their money in lieu of personal service. Brackenbury gave freely of his substance, but also gave himself to his Master as a preacher, for the long term of forty years. He accompanied Wesley to Scotland and Holland, and stood at his bed among the eleven who heard his last whispered 'Farewell.' Brackenbury remained faithful to Methodism through her heaviest struggles, and to the close of his life, in August, 1818.

This devoted man was in the habit of leaving his home and the world, to seek in the retirement of some solitary village special preparation for his preaching excursions. Having planned one of these 'retreats' while at Southampton in 1792, he took the first coach which drew up, and was carried by it to Weymouth. Only a day after he had taken private lodgings, a man met him in the street, and pointing in a certain direction, said, 'O, Sir, you are the very person I wanted. The Isle of Portland is all darkness. You must go there.' Brackenbury went there, and thence to Poole and the neighboring villages. At the latter place the theatre was hired, and the services held in it were attended by immense crowds. Many were blessed by being turned from their iniquities. To render the work permanent, Brackenbury built a Methodist church, on the walls of which, after his death, the people placed a tablet commemorating his liberality and holy life. 'All this,' said his wife, a person not less saintly than her husband, as at a later period she spoke of the several circuits, and the sixteen hundred members in that district of England, in which her husband had been the pioneer Methodist preacher; "All this, the present fruit, has, humanly speaking, providentially resulted from my dear husband stepping into the coach at Southampton." [4]

[4] Stevens' 'History of Methodism,' vol. 3, p. 253.

In this fond tribute of a Christian woman to the memory of her husband the truth was not exceeded. Indeed, the extreme earthly limit of the influence of that apparently trifling act on the part of her husband lay beyond her vision. Poole was at that time the principal English port of the Newfoundland trade, and communication between the two points was quite frequent. Parties from Poole carried news of the work under Brackenbury across the ocean to Stretton. As soon as possible, Stretton wrote Brackenbury a pressing letter, urging him either to come over in person, or to send a preacher. On receipt of the letter, Brackenbury made the request known to George Smith, a young man who had been with him on several of his journeys, and had taken part with him in the successful services at Poole and the surrounding villages. Smith expressed his willingness to go to Newfoundland, and received encouragement from Dr. Coke, to whom Brackenbury had forwarded Stretton's letter. On the 1st of May, 1794, Smith sailed from Poole in a merchant ship, the owner of which kindly gave him a passage. The captain, a Methodist, readily consented to frequent religious services during the voyage; and on their approach to the land, several persons who came on board to make inquiries concerning the expected missionary, gave him a warm welcome.

For more than a year, Smith confined his labours chiefly to Conception Bay. He then went northward as far as Greenspond, where, as well as at Trinity Bay and Bonavista, he formed small societies. In the absence of any supplies from England, and anxious to be able to relieve the necessities of the poor, which were 'very urgent during the cold season,' he then resolved to return to England to seek ordination from the Archbishop

of Canterbury, and an appointment at Bonavista as a missionary under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 'The annual stipend,' says Smith, 'was seventy pounds; from which, as well as from my letters of ordination, I expected—if the Lord should please to favour my design,—to derive singular advantages, not for my own sake, but for the cause of Christ, and the precious souls for whose sake I went thither.' With this intention he sailed for England, carrying with him a certificate of good behavior, and a request for his appointment to Bonavista, signed by the chief magistrate and a number of the residents of that place. But another party at Bonavista, fearful of his return, with increased power to interfere with their unholy proceedings, forwarded a counter-petition, signed by a number of persons, some of whom were avowed Roman Catholics, which reached the Archbishop before Smith's arrival. The latter petition, in spite of the efforts of Wilberforce, who wrote in Smith's behalf to both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, served as a sufficient reason for a denial of the request. Smith lived long enough to feel thankful for a refusal, which at first caused him sore disappointment.

At the Conference of 1796, William Thoresby was appointed to Newfoundland. In accordance with his earnest request, and with the sanction of the Conference, Smith, who since his return had been employed in the English work, consented to accompany him. They sailed together from Poole, and reached their destination after a pleasant voyage. Thoresby remained at Conception Bay, while his colleague took an early opprtunity of going northward. Exposure in a boat on the open sea in the month of November, when the weather was wet and stormy; and without bed or covering, and with no food

but salt fish, resulted in a severe illness. Immediately after his arrival at Bonavista, where the sailors sought refuge, Smith took his bed in a tilt belonging to two poor men. There he lay for a month, cared for by the magistrate and the apothecary, who kindly ministered to his necessities. Upon his recovery he collected the children of the place, to teach them to read. The greater part of his books and clothing, sent after him from England, had fallen into the hands of the French, who had captured the vessel by which they were forwarded; but he so pitied the destitution of some of the children that he sold a part of his remaining books and wearing apparel, and sought aid from others to supply them with clothing. During March, 1797, he travelled with three others through the woods to Trinity, where he spent several days in preaching, and seeking out the scattered members of the little flock he had been instrumental in gathering on a former visit. After a journey, rendered perilous by a severe snow-storm, during which he and his companions lost their way, discerning during their wanderings the track of a pack of wolves, he reached Bonavista again in safety. In that place he remained until May. 'I had reason to believe,' he wrote, when reviewing this period of his ministry, 'that through the blessing of God several souls were converted at Bonavista; and the children, whom I taught gratuitously, appeared to be very hopeful. Their parents endeavored to requite my kindness, by bringing rafts of wood which they cut and squared on the other side of the cove, on slides on the ice, with the intention of erecting a chapel in the spring, if I had received, as I expected, remittances from England.' Among those led to Christ under Smith's ministry at Bonavista was a young Englishman, named Charles Saint. The natural diffidence of the young man prevented him

from making known to his father in the Gospel the change he had experienced, but during the fourteen years which elapsed before the appointment of a missionary to Bonavista, he was the leader in nearly all the services by which 'the sheep without a shepherd' sought to strengthen each other. During a long period Mr. Saint discharged the duties of a leader and local preacher to the satisfaction of all concerned. In 1840, after much suffering, borne with Christian patience, he reached the close of a mortal life of seventy-six years.

The loss of a letter to Dr. Adam Clarke, and the consequent arrival of the vessels in the spring without remittances or supplies of any kind for the missionary, left him in a state of destitution, which hastened his departure for England. In May, 1797, leaving the remainder of his books and part of his clothing in the hands of a friend, to discharge debts he had been compelled to contract, he sailed for Lisbon, on the way to England. Through the kindness of two merchants at Harbor Grace and Carbonear, provision was made for his passage to Lisbon, and for his expenses while in that city, but in order to reach Falmouth, he was under the necessity, in consequence of the high rate of passage by the packet, of soliciting a pass from the Post-Office. During the first eleven days at sea, his position was unpleasant in the extreme. His fare was a few biscuits, and his bed an old hammock in the hold. Some inquiries, made by a naval officer who had marked his fondness for reading, led Smith at length to make known his previous engagement as a missionary in Newfoundland. Further inquiries, on the following day, led him to produce a letter from Wilberforce, and another from the chief magistrate at Bonavista. A military officer of high rank, acquainted with Wilberforce, recognized his hand

writing, and asked to see the book Smith was reading. A request was soon after sent by the company in the cabin, through the naval officer, for a sermon on the following day, which was the Sabbath. To the amazement of the sailors, who had 'dealt out sneers and jestings in abundance' to their unknown passenger, he appeared on deck on the Sabbath morning in his ministerial costume. Not a few of his hearers wept, while he preached to them with 'unusual liberty.' Henceforward on the passage, the missionary, who had been denied a plate of food which a gentleman's servant was carrying to his dogs, and which he had, when 'insatiably hungry,' attempted to appropriate, lacked nothing. The company thanked him for his sermon, and invited him that day to dine with them, and presented him, on their arrival at Falmouth, with several guineas as a token of respect. The military officer also offered to entertain him at an hotel in the town.

After his return to England, George Smith labored in various circuits with good success. While stationed at Whitby, he rendered material assistance to Methodism in Newfoundland, by visiting several English circuits, and soliciting contributions in aid of the re-erection of churches, destroyed by fire. He finished his work in 1832.[5] His brethren said of him: 'His zeal in the cause of Christ was ardent, and his labors were abundant. He had a vigorous constitution, which he devoted entirely to the service of the sanctuary, and the glory of God.

William Thoresby returned to England in 1798. He had entered the itinerancy in 1785. His talents were attractive, and his services in the colony were attended by crowded congregations. He died in 1807. His brethren

[5] 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' 1833, p. 12.

say that his ministry had been 'crowned with much visible success,' and add, 'We hope he died in the Lord.'

Thomas Gee, whose name appears in the Minutes of 1798, in connection with Newfoundland, never reached that colony. In the spring of 1799, James Bulpit, named for the first time in the Minutes of that year, arrived at Carbonear, and took charge of the work in Conception Bay.

CHAPTER XI.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE CONFERENCE OF 1793 TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1799.

Return of several Ministers to the United States. Thomas Whitehead. War between England and France. Conference of 1794. Theodore Seth Harding. Visit of Black to Prince Edward Island. Rev. Theophilus DesBrisay. Arrival of Jessop and Stocket. Jessop's trials in St. John. Boyd's withdrawal. Fidler's appointment to Sheffield. Alexander McLeod. Fidler at Annapolis. Conference of 1796. Return of the American Preachers to the United States. Stations. Extracts from minutes of 1795. Boyd's course. Jessop's death. Jesse Lee's visit to McColl. Difficulties of travelling. McColl's visit to the United States. His ordination by Asbury. St. Stephen Circuit. Impressive incident. Fidler's work on the St. John river. Revival at Liverpool and the adjoining settlements. Joshua and Francis Newton. Conversion in the jail. Neil Campbell. Conference of 1796. Fredericton. Black at the General Conference. His failure to obtain laborers for the Provinces. Fidler at Liverpool and Shelburne. Conference of 1797. McColl in New Brunswick. Conference of 1798. Black in New Brunswick. McColl and the 'Antinomians'. Work at St. Stephen. Re-admission of Cooper to the Ministry. Return of Fidler to the United States. His character and subsequent life. Removal of Grandin.

The arrival of those ministers who reached Nova Scotia soon after the close of the Baltimore Conference did not increase the number of Methodist laborers in the Lower Provinces. McColl and Grandin, who appear in the minutes of 1793 for the first time, had been actively employed for several years; while, on the other hand the names of Regan, Earley, Fisler, and Whitehead disappear forever from the provincial list. That of Jessop who had returned home, also disappears, but only for a time. Late in the autumn of 1793, he wrote from Baltimore, to one of his brother-itinerants, then at Liverpool 'I hope to be with you in the spring. I hope yet to see

the land of Nova Scotia flame with the glory of God.' Of those who withdrew from the provincial work, nearly all continued to make good proof of their ministry in their native or adopted country. The career of Earley has been traced in a previous chapter. Fisler remained in the itinerancy until 1798, and then like many of his brethren at the South, located. Regan's ministry ended with his life. A man of extensive reading, able to use the materials preserved by a retentive memory in the illustration and enforcement of the truths of the Gospel, and, withal, a mild, persuasive preacher, his ministry was of an attractive and successful character. While on the Bethel Circuit, in West Jersey, his last station, crowds followed him from one appointment to another. 'Many, very many from that region' remarks the author of "Methodism in West Jersey" will rise up to call him blessed in the great day.' He was seized with yellow fever while in Philadelphia, where he died in September, 1797. Thomas Whitehead married a worthy lady in Nova Scotia, and entered into business. In 1801 he sought re-admission into the Conference, but the members of it saw fit to refuse compliance with his request. In 1806 he attended the New York Conference, under the auspices of which he had first entered the ministry, and made an offer of his services, but the members of that Conference in view of their finances, and his large family, hesitated to receive him. Upon the intercession of Joseph Sawyer, however, Asbury consented to receive him upon trial, on condition that he would accompany Sawyer to Canada. This he consented to do, though consent involved a long and weary journey of six weeks in an open boat.[1] The qualities which, during his short ministry in Nova Scotia, had secured for him the esteem of those who knew him, won

[1] 'Case and His Contemporaries' vol. 1, p. 132.

for him the high regard of his Canadian brethren. With a well cultivated mind, richly stored with general knowledge; possessed of superior pulpit talent, and of sound judgment and loyalty, he proved to be of invaluable service to the Connexion in the changes through which it passed. He took a place on the list of superannuates in 1818, but continued to labor as circumstances permitted. When his physical frame, 'literally worn out, was gradually sinking beneath the accumulation of years and labors, the vigor of his intellect remained unimpaired, his peace perfect, his hope buoyant.' He preached for the last time on Christmas, 1845, and died at the residence of his son at Brantford, in January, 1846.[2]

Throughout the period named at the head of this chapter, the work in the Lower Provinces was carried on under the superintendence of Black, now reinstated in his position as presiding elder, or 'General Assistant,' in accordance with the earnestly expressed wishes of his brethren. At first no circuit was assigned him; it was expected that his time would be fully occupied in visiting the different parts of the field. The society in Halifax allowed him a house as a residence for his family, but his 'quarterage' was provided by an assessment upon several of the circuits, a large proportion of which was allotted to Halifax. After a time the paucity of laborers rendered his appointment to a circuit a necessity. He then took charge of the Halifax circuit, and sought to perform his duties as Superintendent, by means of frequent exchanges. Frequent traces of his presence are to be found throughout this period in almost all parts of the provincial work.

The influences at that period in the ascendant were calculated in an unusual degree to hinder the growth of

[2]Canadian Minutes, 1846.

the work of God. War between England and France was declared by the government of the latter country, early in 1793; peace was not restored until 1801. During the intervening years, the excitement prevailing in Halifax, in consequence of the presence of large bodies of armed men, and the arrival and departure of cruisers; and the agitated state of the settlements on the coast, caused by the actual, or reported nearness of hostile ships; with the almost total destruction of the trade with the West Indies, and the attempted reprisals on the enemy's commerce, by means of privateers fitted out in provincial ports, were calculated to make men heedless of eternal interests.

At the Conference of 1794, which was commenced at Horton on the 6th of June, eight ministers were present. The number of members reported, including twenty from the Island of Prince Edward, was eleven hundred,—an increase of one hundred and eleven during the year. 'After communing together,' says one of the preachers present, 'we parted in love.'

An event of interest, connected with the Conference of 1794, was the introduction into the ministry of a youth whose name is worthy of remembrance by all interested in the religious history of the Lower Provinces, but especially by the ministry and membership of the Baptist churches. Theodore Seth Harding, whose name and face are familiar to some who may read these pages, was a member of a family possessing more than the average of intellectual power. He was born in 1773 at Barrington, to which place his father, one of the earliest settlers in the township, had removed from one of the New England colonies. The father was a man of influence in the Congregational Church; but the son at an early age became one of the first fruits of Methodism at

Barrington. Throughout life he acknowledged James Mann to be his 'spiritual father.' While yet a youth, the earnestness with which he recommended to others that Gospel, through which he himself found joy, attracted the attention of his neighbors; and in his public prayers and addresses his seniors saw such evidences of talent, and promise of usefulness, as to lead them to desire a wider field for the exercise of his abilities. One of these, Samuel Osborne Doane, in a note addressed to Daniel Fidler, stationed in Liverpool in 1793, in which he asks for a visit from that minister, speaks of young Harding, as 'a young man of our society, who leads an evening meeting in one part of this town;' and adds, 'This young man sends his love to you. He has great impressions, is constrained to call sinners to repentance, and is very desirous of having some conversation with a preacher of the Gospel.' In the course of a few weeks Fidler paid the desired visit to Barrington, and halting in the evening at Shelburne, on his homeward journey, wrote in his journal: 'I got safe to Shelburne, with a young man, Thody Harding. He begins to preach and exhort, and is very zealous for God. I trust that he will be very useful. Some have been awakened under him already. O, that God may keep him, and make him a pastor after his own heart. In the spring of 1794 he spent a month with Fidler at Liverpool, where his frequent sermons were listened to by large and interested audiences. By the members of the Conference he was that summer welcomed as a fellow-laborer, and appointed to the Horton Circuit. His immediate connection with their work was, however, of short duration. At the head-quarters of his circuit Calvinistic opinions prevailed extensively. The prevalence of these opinions among a people with whom he was brought into frequent contact,

and the bias which a mind impressible as his had received from his early training among the Congregationalists at Barrington, led him before the close of the year to give prominence in his sermons to views at variance with the doctrinal standards of the church, for the ministry of which he was a probationer. His brethren instituted an inquiry, and finding his opinions to be in accordance with his reported utterances, judged it best that a separation should take place. His name therefore appeared in the Minutes of the following year, in answer to the question, 'Who have been excluded from the connexion?' During the same year he was received into the Baptist church at Horton, and in the following year ordained pastor over that church, as the successor of Nicholas Pearson. Among the Baptists he became a leader. A writer upon their history calls him the 'Boanerges' of their early provincial churches,—'a highly eloquent and popular minister,' who probably did more missionary work in all three of the Provinces than any other of the band of brethren to which he pertained.'[3] In 1855 he finished his work, declaring, 'I want nothing more, nothing but the old, solid, firm foundation; I die in the faith.' It is a pleasure to know, that, while a thorough Baptist in sentiment, and attached with an unwavering attachment to that branch of the Church in the ministry of which the best years of his life were spent, and out of which, with his peculiar mental characteristics, he could scarcely have been at home, Theodore S. Harding cherished a warm regard for those through whose ministry he had been led to Christ, and under whose auspices he had been introduced into his life-work. 'Do you ever regret having left the Methodists?' said an intimate Methodist

[3] J. W. Nutting, Esq., in preface to Davis' 'Life and Times of Harris Harding.'

friend, between whom and himself there was a tacit agreement to differ. 'Oh!' was the reply, 'don't let us say anything about that. I love your people, and I love your hymns.' Methodists may feel a certain degree of satisfaction in having called into the ranks one whom she was obliged, nevertheless, in accordance with her standards of doctrine, to dismiss,—for service in another battalion of the host of the living God.

In the autumn of 1794, Black reached the Island of Prince Edward in a small vessel which Nathanael Wright and one of his relations had taken across the Straits, in order to convey him thither. Joshua Newton, appointed Collector of Customs for the Island, had taken charge of a class of six or seven members who met at the house of Benjamin Chappell, and had prepared the way for Black by his public addresses. Black's reception at Charlottetown was of a pleasing character. The Governor, Col. Fanning, upon whom he waited soon after his arrival, spoke in kind terms of Wesley and his people, and offered him the use of the unfinished church. On the following Sabbath evening the Secretary and the Attorney General listened to him there. The clergyman of the parish also called upon him in a friendly spirit. No special work followed this visit to Charlottetown. At its close he called upon the Governor to thank him for the use of the church. 'He expressed' says Black 'much friendship, and offers to assist us if we will erect a chapel.' The visit to Tryon was attended with more satisfactory results. An 'Antinomian' preacher, following on Grandin's track, had done much harm there, but Joshua Newton's discourses at Charlottetown, heard by the wife of Nathanael Wright, treasured in her memory, and repeated to her husband on her return to her home, had acted as a partial check to the progress of erroneous opinions.[4]

[4] 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine' 1825, p. 796.

On his arrival there, in Mr. Wright's vessel, Black found a number prepared to receive the truth. During the first Sabbath of his visit, twenty made application for church-membership. He baptized Mr. Wright and his children, formed a class which continued to meet regularly, administered the Lord's Supper, and then returned to the mainland.

Theophilus DesBrisay, the rector of the parish of Charlotte, who paid Black a friendly visit, was the only Protestant minister in the island. Through the able and earnest ministry of his son and grand-son, the name of DesBrisay has become a household name among the Methodists of many circuits in the Lower Provinces. The rector had reached the island in 1775. Black heard him deliver a 'plain, honest discourse,' which seemed to show a lack of a 'clear conception of the nature of regeneration.' The inference was not unjust. Like many others, he had entered the ministry with no clear conception of its duties and responsibilities. At a later period, when conversing with Dr. Keir of the Presbyterian Church, repecting his religious experience prior to his ordination, he said; 'The bishop asked me if I had received the Holy Ghost. Poor Desbrisay had not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.' His intimacy with ministers of other branches of the Church, a natural result of his frank and kindly disposition, proved to be a blessing to him. When he himself had been led into clearer light, he became a bold and fearless preacher, prepared to reprove the sins which prevailed among all classes of the community, even when his faithfulness gave offence in high quarters, and to his own relations. His love of good men was not limited to any one section of the Church, nor was the manifestation of that love prevented by ecclesiastica

rules. Black's successors found in him a friend; and James MacGregor, to whom he extended a hearty welcome on his first visit to the island, writes respecting him: 'His kindness ended not—but with his life.' [5]

The ministers who attended the Conference had only taken leave of each other, when Jessop again landed at Shelburne. With him came Richard Stocket, a young preacher, whose name was familiar to several Methodists of the last generation at Barrington and Cape Negro, where he labored with success during his short stay in the province. Jessop proceeded to St. John, and took charge of the work there, during that year. In the autumn he visited McColl at St. Stephen and St. Andrew's, and then returned, 'nearly worn out with travelling and preaching,' to his headquarters in the city. Already, disease was undermining his health, and exerting a depressing influence upon him, in the presence of difficulties, with which only a man possessed of a full share of physical and mental vigor could successfully grapple. He did not wholly escape the opposition to Methodism which for a number of years was manifested in St. John. A complaint against him for preaching without a license was lodged in the office of the Clerk of the Peace. That official, however, met him in a spirit very different from that in which he had met Black, three years before, under similar circumstances; and in answer to Jessop's statement that he could not take the oath of allegiance, and must retire from the province, if he could remain on no other condition, assured him that he would not prosecute him, and that an application for a license would prevent any further difficulty. In the view of every faithful pastor, peace within the walls of Zion will compensate for much opposition from without. Unfor-

[5] Patterson's 'Memoir of James MacGregor, D. D.' p. 210.

tunately, such peace did not abound in the church. Large congregations, attracted by his style of preaching and his pleasant voice, listened to the pastor; but it seemed to him that his failing strength was being spent for naught. Early in the spring, he resolved to take leave of the city and proceed to Westmoreland, where he thought he might be more useful. With this intention he sent for his colleague at Sheffield, engaged his passage, and made preparation for departure. His colleague, on his arrival in the city, happily succeeded in changing his resolution, and in persuading him to remain to the end of the Conference year.

James Boyd, appointed to Sheffield as Jessop's colleague, withdrew from the ministry in the early autumn, and 'located'. Pressing letters were therefore sent to Fidler, who, after spending two weeks at Annapolis, had gone to New York to receive ordination, requesting him to return as soon as possible, and take charge of the work on the river. Early in December he reached St. John, and after a brief rest proceeded on his journey to Sheffield. His first halting place was at the house of Mr. Davis at Long Reach, a favorite home of the itinerants, where during the year Jessop and he met to encourage each other. There he preached twice on the Sabbath. Some of his brief notes of travel have been preserved. 'Monday,' he writes, 'I set off for Sheffield and arrived there on Saturday. I suffered more in travelling than ever in my life before. January 1st, 1795, I set off for St. Ann's. The next day I arrived there, and waited upon His Excellency the Governor. He gave me his approbation to preach. Blessed be God, I have full liberty.' Fidler's time was almost equally divided between Fredericton, Sheffield and Nashwaak, and in each place a measure of success attended his labors. During his

occasional journeys to and from St. John he also spent a short time at the Long Reach, and in the neighborhood of Long Island.

Fidler's first guide through the woods to the Scotch settlement on the Nashwaak was Alexander McLeod, a son of one of the Highland settlers there This young man was among the first-fruits of Methodism in that once neglected neighborhood. Already, thoughts concerning the ministry were revolving in his mind, and his friends were watching his movements with interest. Those who looked for his early consecration to the work of the ministry were dissappointed, when doubts as to his call, and difficulties connected with his position,led him to hesitate. To Fidler, he wrote in 1800, from Sheffield, where he was then teaching school: 'My former exercises of mind—which you well know—have not subsided, but seem at present to be more strong and deep. * * * * * I do not know but I shall have to quit my retirement, and go out into the highways and hedges to call sinners to repentance.' At a subsequent period, he resolved to place himself in the hands of the ministry, to be guided by their decision; but a serious accident, which befel him on the morning of his intended departure for the Conference, prevented him from reaching their place of meeting, and in all probability changed the whole course of his life. He never found his way into the ministry, except in a local capacity, but as an official member of the church in St. John, N. B., and a trusted adviser of the ministers stationed in that city, he rendered valuable service to Methodism for many years. A son, the Rev. A. W. McLeod, D. D., of Baltimore, Md., and also a daughter, went from his family into the itinerancy.

Brief notes, penned by Fidler, who spent ten weeks at Annapolis in the summer of 1794, afford a glimpse of the

work in that circuit at that period. After leaving Windsor at the close of the Conference, and spending a night at Cornwallis with Captain Bowen, whose house had been for years a preaching place as well as a home for the itinerants, he proceeded towards his station at Annapolis. 'June 12th, I got safe,' he says, 'to our good friend Mr. Bonnett's at Annapolis. 29th, I preached at Captain Buler's, near Bear River. Found the class much alive to God. I have hardly seen such a time of power since I came to Nova Scotia. I added two to the class. July 10th, James Mann came. Sunday, 13th, we held a quarterly meeting at Mr. Whitehead's, at Granville. We had the sacrament and a very comfortable time. 16th, I preached at a Mr. Shaw's, ten miles below Annapolis. The Lord was present. Several were much affected. Glory to God, I trust my labors are not in vain on this circuit. I see a good prospect, and feel my soul more and more given up to God and His work. August 22nd, went down to Digby. Heard Mr. Viets, the church minister. The people wanted me to preach, but as my time was short, I exhorted at Mr. Ray's. I had satisfaction in conversing with the people, and several invitations to visit them. Fidler was followed at Annapolis by Grandin, who during the course of the next spring presented a favorable report of the progress of the work of God.

The Conference of 1795 was held at Windsor, which, from its central position, was frequently selected to be the seat of the early Conferences. Of the small ministerial staff then in the provinces, four, at least, were absent: James Mann and Duncan McColl, in the United States; with William Jessop and Daniel Fidler, detained by the slow movements of the packet running between St. John and Digby, until too late to meet their brethren

at Windsor. The exclusion of Harding, the withdrawal of Boyd, and the return to the United States, soon after the Conference, of Jessop and Lunsford, reduced the number of preachers to eight, and rendered the proper supply of the circuits an impossibility. The short list of stations was as follows: Halifax—William Black; Liverpool—James Mann; Shelburne—Richard Stocket; Newport—John Mann; Cumberland—Benjamin Wilson; Annapolis—William Grandin; New Brunswick—Daniel Fidler and Duncan McColl. In connection with the list of circuit appointments was placed the name of William Black, as Presiding Elder. The number of members in the Societies, exclusive of those in New Brunswick, whence no returns were received, was seven hundred and fifty-three.

The Minutes of 1795 were printed in the form of a four-page tract. The ministers are urged to 'regularly appoint' and 'scrupulously attend' Quarterly meetings, at each of which a collection is to be taken up. An annual subscription is to be resorted to, when necessary. In the rules respecting the Quarterly meetings, official designations occur, to which the ears of provincial Methodists of to-day are unaccustomed. 'If the Presiding Elder' it is said, 'cannot possibly be present, and there be no Elder nor Deacon in the circuit, let the neighboring Elder or Deacon attend, and diligently enquire into the temporal and spiritual state of the society.' The preachers are also counselled to meet the classes as frequently as possible; to renew the class-papers regularly; to appoint prayer-meetings wherever they are practicable; strictly to attend to the rules respecting pastoral visitation, 'which rules,' it is stated, 'have been much neglected;' vehemently to exhort believers to grow in grace and to go on unto perfection; and to use diligence in the circu-

lation of Wesley's and Fletcher's writings, which are said to have done 'much good in various places.' In the absence of a formal 'Pastoral Address,' certain questions and answers relating to prominent points of doctrine, and intended, it is evident, for the eye of the public, are inserted. 'Antinomianism,' is set forth as the direct opponent of Methodism or 'heart-holiness.' 'All the other devices of Satan, for these sixty years,' it is said, 'have done far less, in Europe and America, towards stopping the work of God, than that single doctrine. It strikes at the root of "salvation from sin," previous to glory, putting the matter on quite another issue.' 'Wherein,' it is asked, 'are the charms of this doctrine? What makes men swallow it so greedily?' It is answered; '1st, it seems to magnify Christ. 2nd, it is highly pleasing to corrupt nature—to all that is carnal in our hearts; the doctrine of absolute, unconditional perseverance, in particular.'

We trace, briefly, the career of those whose names at this period disappear from the provincial list. Boyd, who, during the previous year, had withdrawn from the ministry, had not, by that act, surprised his brethren, who had stood in doubt of him. In 1796, he caused some confusion in Sheffield, by an attempt to obtain the pastorate of the Congregational church in that place; but, though sustained in his application by a number of persons connected with the congregation, he failed in his effort, and two years later, returned to the United States. Previously to his withdrawal from the itinerancy he had married, and marriage at that day, when ministerial allowances were exceedingly small, and extremely uncertain, frequently involved early retirement from the active ranks. 'So it is,' wrote Jessop, in reference to Boyd's withdrawal, to a brother itinerant,

whom he suspected of matrimonial intentions; 'The devil tells us, when about to marry, that it will not hinder our travelling, but in the end, to our sorrow, we find him a liar. Wherefore, if we want to travel, the best way is to live single.' [6] Lunsford, who had been stationed at Halifax and Liverpool, returned in the autumn to Virginia, and located during the following year. Jessop, one of the noblest of our provincial pioneers, finished his course with joy, a few months after his return to his native land. In December, 1795, he died of consumption, at Strasburg Village, Lancaster Co, Penn. 'His last sermon,' says Henry Boehm, 'was on the sufferings of Christ, and was one of the most melting I ever heard. He was reduced to a skeleton, his face was pale, his eye was sunken and glassy, his voice sepulchral, and his manner solemn as eternity. The preacher and his auditors

[6] The remark made by Jessop receives a forcible illustration from the story of Sylvanus Keiler, one of the early itinerants of Ontario, whose labors as a located minister, however, made his name as 'ointment poured forth.' The author of 'Case and his Contemporaries' tells in touching style of the causes which led to Keiler's retirement from the itinerancy. 'He travelled for several years,' says Carroll, 'while Canada was the newest and the poorest, and the preachers the worst provided for. He was often three months at a time from his wife and family of small children. The story of their destitution, and the shifts they were put to, to exist, in those seasons of destitution, might bring tears from eyes "the most unused to weep." No wonder that his return to them was always considered a Jubilee. When the season of his periodical visit drew near, his little ones, as they informed the writer in after years, would mount the fence and strain their eyes to get the first glimpse of their returning father, often for hours, and even days, before his appearance. In view of such privations could any one blame him for "locating" and making provision for those for whom he was the natural provider?' Under the pressure of similar circumstances, Asbury saw many of his most active preachers depart from a work into which he had thrown all his energies, and for a lifetime. 'To-day,' he wrote in his journal, in November, 1800, Benjamin Blanton met me. He is now a married man. Like others of his southern brethren, after he has faithfully served the Connexion about ten years, he talks of locating.' Such cases were a 'great grief of mind' to the worthy bishop.

felt that his days were numbered. A few days after, he died in triumph, exclaiming, "My work is done! Glory! Glory!" His body was buried in the grave-yard connected with Boehm's chapel, at which, in accordance with his dying request, Asbury afterwards preached a funeral sermon.'[7] At the close of the service, Asbury wrote in his journal; 'I had my difficulties in speaking of a man so well known, and so much beloved. He was always solemn; and few such holy, steady men have we found among us.' Jesse Lee, the founder of Methodism in New England, who 'greatly loved' him, wept over his grave, when, five years later, he preached in Boehm's Chapel. A note written by the hand of a friend, and signed by Jessop himself a few days before death, conveys a request to one of his executors, illustrative of the simplicity and poverty of the ministry of that day. 'I will,' it was written, 'that my wearing apparel be carried to the General Conference at Baltimore next; and that the same be distributed among the preachers that stand most in need of it.' This appendix to his will, was prompted, it is probable, by the recollection, that to his brethren he was indebted for the outfit, which a stern father had denied him at the commencement of his ministry. Throughout all parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, where he had become widely known, but, in particular, in Halifax, where he had been closely connected with the erection of the 'Chapel Zoar,' and where he had been the agent in the conversion of numbers, the news of his early departure from the Church militant produced a profound impression.

McColl, during the summer of 1795, received ordination from Bishop Asbury, at New London, Conn. A message, which Jessee Lee, the heroic apostle of Metho-

[7] 'Boehmn's Reminiscences,' p. 28.

dism in the Eastern States, carried in person to the home of McColl at St. Stephen, caused the absence of the latter from the meeting of his brethren at Windsor. From his head-quarters at Lynn, at the most inclement season of the year, and when the travelling was of a most forbidding character, Lee set out on one of his evangelical tours through the wintry wilderness of Maine, and at the beginning of May reached the frontier-line of New Brunswick. A descendant of a pioneer settler of Maine, whose assistance enabled Lee to pass a formidable river which crossed his route, gives a graphic description of some of the difficulties encountered by the messenger. 'With two horses, one to carry the two hundred and fifty pounds of Lee, and the other to bear his baggage,' says the narrator, 'he reached Bangor, over execrable roads, miles of which were corduroy, that is, logs laid side by side, and no earth upon them. From Bangor he proposed to go to New Brunswick. But what a wilderness must be traversed to reach that point! The most of the way, the road must have been only 'bushed out,' as it is termed, and impassable, except by single horses, in summer. "Openings" must have been very rare. But he girds up his loins, and prepares his horses for the perilous feat. If "Jordan does not roll between," the Penobscot does, which answers just as well for an obstacle. It cannot be forded but it can easily float an ocean steamer. He does not like swimming his horses over, as it would exhaust them, and there is no chance for rest upon the opposite shore; he must plunge at once into the desert for a twenty-five mile ride to Ellsworth, but there was no boat there of sufficient tonnage to float a horse. For a long time it was debated. Could he not go round the river? Not easily; as at one end are the wilds of Canada, and at the other the Atlantic ocean.'

The old backwoodsman solved the problem. 'Taking two "dug-outs," boats made from a single pine tree, he lashed them firmly together, by running poles across at stem and stern, keeping them a short space apart; then taking one animal at a time, setting the fore feet in one, and the hind feet in another, he passed them safely across. Then the veteran, mounting one, while the other followed after, waved a farewell to his entertainers, plunged into the forest, and was gone.'[7] At a late hour one evening, he reached the dwelling of McColl, by whom —the visits of his brethren being like 'angels' visits, short and far between' — he was received with rare welcome. After a week spent at St. Stephen, Lee set out on his return, and McColl, in accordance with Asbury's request, accompanied him. They spent more than two months, in travelling through the Eastern States, in thoroughly apostolic style, and reached New London, Conn., in time for the Conference. There, for the first time, McColl met Asbury and others of the rare men of American Methodism. He was deeply impressed by the spirit they breathed, and by the tidings they brought. It was usual, at that time, for the preachers to give a 'free and full account of themselves and their circuits at the Conference.' 'The bishop,' says McColl, 'asked all of us in rotation to tell our first experience in religion; and while one was speaking, the whole of these godly men fell on their faces adoring the Lord Jesus.' No church had then been built in the Conference town; the sessions were therefore held in a private room. The ordination of McColl took place, as did, there is little room for doubt, that of Paul and Barnabas—in a private dwelling. 'July 22nd, 1795,' wrote Asbury in his journal, 'At Bro. L.'s I ordained D.

[7] Rev. Mark Trafton, D.D., in 'Zion's Herald,' April 20, 1876.

McColl, from Passamaquoddy, who is one born out of due time.'

McColl returned by way of 'Boston and other large towns.' 'I have had many hard days fatigue,' he tells us, but 'harder than what I endured on this journey I never had. Mrs. McColl wept when she saw my ragged situation.' A revival commenced soon after his return, and continued throughout the winter of that year. At St. Stephen and St. David's about sixty experienced forgiveness of sins. In spite of the severe persecution, which some of them experienced from ungodly relatives, these new converts, to McColl's great joy, 'stood well.'

An incident which occurred in connection with McColl's ministry at St. Stephen in 1797 is worthy of record, as an illustration of the strictness with which discipline was enforced in the days of the fathers, and for the sake of the lessons it may teach both the tempted and the tempter. The evening of the marriage, at his own house, of a member of the church to a thoughtless young woman, was seized upon by a party of gentlemen, unfriendly to the prevalent religious influences, as a time for a dance. McColl as a faithful pastor warned the man, and advised his so-called friends not to involve him in trouble by their folly. These however turned the advice into ridicule, and carried out their purpose. The result was the exclusion of the erring member, who by some previous breach of discipline had rendered his continuance in church membership a matter of uncertainty. According to announcement, an address bearing upon the case was delivered by McColl from the pulpit, and listened to by the parties concerned. After a statement of the principal facts, and an allusion to the weak, erring man, who had been excluded from the Church, the preacher turned to the parties

who had influenced him. 'He is in your hands,' McColl said, 'by exclusion from us; his blood now lieth upon you, as the blood of John the Baptist lay on Herod and his wicked family. Look ye well to it.' A deep impression was made upon the parties addressed, one of whom was convinced of sin, and soon after converted; and for many years none attempted to advocate a practice, the results of which, as watched by an impartial observer, prove it to be clearly unfavorable to the maintenance of a life of faith in the Son of God. But even these results, satisfactory in themselves, could not undo the wrong done to the unhappy man. During fifteen years he went from bad to worse. A conviction of his wickedness then nearly crushed him, and for a year his state was wretched in the extreme. He wandered about the fields and woods, 'seeking rest and finding none;' his utterances were indicative of despair; he denounced against himself the threatenings of the Old Testament, with 'fierceness and fury;' and carried about his person materials for self-destruction. McColl talked with him for a time to no purpose, but satisfied, after careful consideration of his case, that there was mercy for him, returned to him, prayed for him and succeeded in leading him back to Christ and to His Church. During the two years he was permitted to live after his re-conversion, he enjoyed 'a good hope through grace.' Recollections of similar occurences, less clearly marked, it may be, yet productive of deep sorrow, will rush unbidden to the mind, and cloud the brow, of some pastors who may read these pages.

Fidler, assisted for a few months by James Mann, whose place at Liverpool was supplied by Francis Newton, took charge of the work in St. John and the up-river settlements during the year. He extended the circuit by

visiting Prince William, and preaching at the house of Captain Brown, and also at that of William Smith, who with his wife, a member of one of the families of Barkers, resident at Sheffield, were among the earliest Methodists of the latter place. Elsewhere, Fidler speaks of a service held at Sheffield, at the house of Squire Barker, 'a steady friend of Methodism.' 'Some souls,' said Fidler, as he took his leave of the upper part of the circuit, about the middle of May, 'have been awakened, and others converted to God.' On the 25th of that month, he took his final departure from New Brunswick, and sailed from St. John for Digby, on his way to meet his brethren at the Conference of 1796.

During the winter of 1795-6, an extensive revival took place at Liverpool, and in some of the adjacent settlements. In the previous spring, Joshua Newton, as Collector of Customs, had been transferred to that place from Charlottetown. His official duties were not burdensome, and a heart, possessed by divine influence, led him to employ his leisure time in efforts to advance the interests of his Master's kingdom. On the Sabbath succeeding his arrival he avowed his enlistment on the Lord's side, by addressing a congregation in the Methodist church. In a few weeks he was joined by his brother Francis, who, after pursuing his studies for four years, preparatory to taking orders in the Episcopal Church, abandoned that purpose, and resolved, in the face of clearly-expressed contempt, to enter the itinerant ranks. In December, Black visited Liverpool, and placed him in charge of the circuit. The presence and popularity of his brother enabled Francis Newton frequently to leave the town and visit the settlements on the coast. 'Two of one family,' wrote Robert Barry, 'I never saw equal to them for piety and wisdom.' Their labors were accompanied by much success. 'Bles-

sed be God,' said Barry, 'He grants them the desire of their hearts. Scarce do they hold out the glad tidings of salvation, of late, but some are deeply convinced of sin, or enabled by faith to "behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world." 'Thirty,' he wrote, about the last of March, 1796, 'are said to have been converted during the last three or four months, and many others under the influence of deep conviction are crying to God for mercy. Among the former are several children, from ten to fifteen years of age, who give the most incontestible proofs of a real change of heart, that of a holy walk and conversation.' The presence at Liverpool of the Newlights, by whom a high value was attached to certain boisterous demonstrations in their assemblies, and a low estimate placed upon that 'silent awe which dares not move,' called for the exercise of much discretion on the part of the leaders in this revival. Joshua Newton, in an address upon the character of the work, counselled moderation, and read certain rules which he wished to be observed. By this course he gave some offence to the more demonstrative part of the young converts.

A circumstance of a painful character caused a number of the services to be held in the jail. A very wealthy merchant of Liverpool, who soon after retired from business, had, in consequence of a comparatively small debt, thrown an aged and highly esteemed member of the Methodist Church into prison, in the evident expectation that his friends in the church would procure his release by the payment of the debt. In order to bring all possible pressure to bear upon these he objected to the prisoner being permitted to have the freedom of the jail-yard, prevented him from taking the benefit of the 'Insolvent debtors Act,' and exceeded Tur-

kish barbarity by refusing to allow him to visit his aged and infirm wife, who lay at the point of death. Those who bore her body to the grave, carried it to the jail, that her husband might once more look upon her face. After an imprisonment of a year, the leaders of the society proposed a compromise, paid half the amount, and the gray-haired man went out from the prison. At the services which were held for his sake in the jail a number professed to experience conversion, among whom was Simon Fraser, afterwards a trustee of the church at Liverpool. His excellent wife, who also passed 'from death unto life' during this revival, died in the Lord in 1852, at Caledonia, Queen's Co., after having been for fifty-seven years a 'highly consistent member' of the Methodist Church.

This revival was not confined to Liverpool. Several of those who were blessed through the services held in the town visited the settlements on the coast, bearing testimony to the power of divine grace. By this means, some previously awakened, were encouraged, and others were led into the enjoyment of peace. This was the case at Port Mouton, which had been settled by disbanded soldiers of the British Legion, a few of whom with their families still remained. These, visited occasionally by the ministers stationed at Liverpool, had commenced to hold services among themselves, at which one of their number usually read a sermon by Wesley. Francis Newton went to their settlement, and preached the word with power, and the demonstration of the Spirit. Among the number converted was Neil Campbell, who, after having sustained for thirty years the office of a class leader in that settlement, died in 1838, closing his life-testimony with 'Jesus is mine and I am His.' Of him, said an aged member of our Church to those who

were asssembled at the funeral; 'He was a man of sound judgment, great firmness of character, strict integrity, and evident spirituality of mind; and were I to travel from Cape Canso to Cape Sable, I should expect to find few to equal, and none to excel him. Services were also held at Port Joli, Port Le Bear and Port Medway. In the summer of 1796, James Mann, who was stationed at Liverpool, received a large number into Church fellowship.

The career of Francis Newton was short, but brilliant. On the 26th July, 1796, he preached his farewell sermon at Liverpool, and in the autumn sailed from Halifax for the United States, to meet Dr. Coke. Shortly after the departure of the vessel in which he embarked, a severe storm arose, during which it was supposed she foundered. His friends waited long for tidings—but in vain.

Joshua Newton was spared to be a pillar in the church at Liverpool. His name will again appear in these pages. 'Few, very few persons, through the entire course of a lengthened life, have enjoyed so greatly the respect of the community in which they have lived and acted, or have descended to the grave so greatly beloved, as he. In public life, his courteous demeanor, his urbanity of manner, his humane and benevolent spirit, won for him the confidence and esteem of all classes. He had been for fifty-five years Collector of Customs at the port of Liverpool, and for many years the chief magistrate of the County of Queens. Alike removed from mystic quietism, from cold formalism, and from austere asceticism, his piety was fervent, active, experimental, and yet cheerful; maintained in godly consistency, and exhibited practically, by the fruits of holiness, during a Christian pilgrimage of more than half a century. He

performed the duties of class-leader with much ability; and his kindness and faithfulness in this office greatly endeared him to those who had the privilege of being placed under his care. From the time of his arrival at Liverpool, he was accustomed in the absence of the resident ministers faithfully to set forth the doctrine of a free and a present salvation, to the edification of very many, until obliged to discontinue these labors by the advance of the infirmities of years. Death had no terrors to him; he conversed about it with composure, and spoke of heaven as one whose treasure was there.'[8] When his voice was nearly 'lost in death,' he was heard to use the exultant words, 'Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' His departure took place on the 27th of March, 1849, at the age of seventy-seven years. Fifty-seven of these had been spent as a child of God, in connexion with the Methodist Church.

The Conference of 1796 had been appointed to take place at Newport. The members of it, however, met at Windsor, on Thursday, the 3rd of June. Six preachers only were present, who, according to one of their number, 'conversed freely, and did all their business in much love.' The sessions were continued for three days. A revival of religious interest had prepared the people of Windsor to appreciate the public religious services of the period. More than twenty, 'many of them truly converted to God,' had a short time previously been added to the membership of the little church in that rising village. To these, the Conference Sabbath, with its sermons, communion service, and love-feast, was a high day. On the following morning the ministers set off for their circuits.

As soon as possible, Black repaired to New Bruns-

[8] Rev. J. McMurray, 'Wesleyan,' 1849, p. 20.

wick, to visit the churches planted in St. John, and in the settlements along the river. 'I had some comfortable times among them,' he wrote to a brother; 'especially at Sheffield.' According to one of their number, whose mind was 'refreshed' by Black's 'loving behaviour and conversation,' by none was his visit more highly prized than by the very 'little flock' at Fredericton, who looked up to Duncan Blair and his pious wife as their leader. Even these well-tried friends, whose humble dwelling had been both preaching-place and resting-place for the preacher on his rounds, talked in tones of discouragement of a removal, which must, unless some new door had been opened, have led to the total exclusion of the place from the circuit-plan. So small was the attendance after the removal of a part of the troops, and so few were the signs of promise, that, in 1796, the name of Fredericton, on the circuit-plan, had been transferred from the list of Sabbath services,—thus increasing those of Sheffield and Nashwaak—to that of week-evening services. Once in each fortnight such a service was held beneath the roof of good Duncan Blair. 'The Lord, I hope, will undertake for us;' wrote one of the little company who listened to the preacher in Blair's dwelling.

The lack of laborers, increased by the return of Stocket to the United States, led Black to attend the General Conference, commenced at Baltimore on the 20th of October. His place at Halifax was supplied by John Mann. The services of the Conference were rich in blessing. 'The Lord,' said Coke, 'gave us signal proofs of his approbation. Every evening he was graciously present; seldom could the congregation break up till near midnight, and seldom were there less than half a dozen brought into the liberty of the children of God. One Sunday morning, when I endeavored to set forth the

intercession of Christ, seven were justified under the sermon and the prayers which succeeded it.' Such statements are suggestive to the ministry of to-day.

To rejoice over the extension of the work in the United States was a natural result of Black's religious character; yet that extension, with its consequent demand for additional laborers, rendered his most earnest efforts to obtain more help for his own field unsuccessful. Asbury, who, in 1790, had informed Black that he would send none of his ministers out of the Union, without their consent, now reluctantly permitted them to depart for the Lower Provinces. 'The Bishop,' wrote Black to Fidler, at Shelburne, 'says you may stay where you are, but that he cannot spare us any new help. Two preachers, however, were willing to come to Nova Scotia,—and he gave his consent—but they afterwards declined. They were afraid of the French.' Asbury's conviction, previously stated to Black, that 'the young men who have returned to us are not so humble and serious as when they went to Nova Scotia,' may also have had some influence with the good Bishop. Be that as it may, Black returned to Halifax alone. John Mann and Duncan McColl, the latter of whom had spent two of the summer months in St. John, continued at their usual head-quarters. Fidler was stationed at Shelburne; James Mann at Liverpool; Grandin, at Annapolis; while Wilson was sent to the St. John city and river circuit, and his place at Cumberland supplied by Bladis, a local preacher, aided by John Black, and Thomas Roach, a young man who had been raised up under John Black's ministry.

Fidler, on his way to Shelburne, halted at Liverpool, and witnessed with much pleasure the results of the ministry of Joshua and Francis Newton, in his first

provincial circuit. The gathering of the young converts at a communion service was a notable scene. 'My soul rejoiced with them,' he wrote, 'for God was with us of a truth. We have a blessed time in all our meetings.' Eight months later Joshua Newton wrote him: 'Our society is in a prosperous way;' and at the close of a visit to Port Mouton, Fidler remarked: 'A blessed reformation has taken place since I was there two or three years ago.' He reached Shelburne in July. On that circuit, which included Barrington and the intermediate places, he remained nearly two years. His ministry during that period was attended with much success. In July, 1797, he formed a church of nearly thirty members at Sable River, where he reported the work of revival to be still in progress.

No addition was made to the number of laborers, at the Conference of 1797. The members of it met at Windsor, early in June. McColl, whose distance from the place of meeting seldom permitted him to meet his brethren, reached Annapolis, and thence, on a 'good but very wild horse,' accompanied Grandin to Windsor.

Through the greater part of that year McColl had the sole charge of the work in New Brunswick. In St. John, Stephen Humbert rendered willing assistance; and at St. Stephen, McColl had a valuable helper in Robert Watson, whom he called his 'faithful and sincere friend,' and for the gift of whom, at Watson's departure in 1817, after a service of eight and twenty years, during which he had been the 'great support' of the society, he rendered thanks. McColl's pen affords the only available information respecting Methodism in New Brunswick during that year, 'We returned,' he writes, to Annapolis. I understood a captain's lady and two of her daughters were convinced while I was preach-

ing at Cornwallis. On my return to Annapolis I preached with much freedom for a few weeks. June 19th, I sailed in the packet, in company with a very gay gentleman, who had servants and three horses with him. We did not speak to each other until we were half-way across the Bay of Fundy: he then addressed me as I was reading in the cabin. We had considerable to say on various subjects, and soon got into a very friendly understanding. He expressed much good-will when we parted in the city St. John; and I saw him no more, although I understood afterwards that one of his attendants experienced religion, and became a preacher. I found the people low in religion at the city; however, it pleased God to stir up their minds in the following way. A soldier's wife being very sick, Dr. Emerson, of the regiment, applied to me to visit her, as he expected her end soon. I did so, and felt much encouraged in speaking to her, after prayer. She was evidently convinced of sin. I visited her the second time, and found her much alarmed; the third time, God spoke peace to her soul, and in a day or two she died, very happy. This seemed to arouse the people's minds, and I had a comfortable time with them. I then took a round up the river to Fredericton, the Nashwaak, and all the other places where we had formed societies, and as they had no stationed preacher, I administered the Lord's Supper to them in every place, and found them exceedingly glad to see me, for they mourned after the word. On my return to St. Stephen, I found the cause suffering for want of public preaching and scripture discipline. I strove to do what I could till the first of July, 1798.' A pressing letter from Wilson, at St. John, then called him to that part of the province.[9]

[9] 'British North American Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' 1841, p. 459.

On Friday, July 13th, 1798, several of the ministers met at the Conference, which was again held at Windsor. The usual business was conducted in harmony. Black preached a 'most excellent' sermon on the morning of the Conference Sabbath, and Fidler addressed a large congregation in the afternoon, 'with but little satisfaction' to himself. A prayer-meeting held in the evening was felt to be a 'solemn and profitable time.' The number of members throughout Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was found to be eight hundred and twelve. In the returns no reference is made to the Island of St. John.

At the close of the Conference, Black according to arrangement proceeded to New Brunswick. His place at Halifax was supplied by Fidler, who had orders, on his return, to take charge of the Cumberland circuit. Black, on his way to St. Stephen, went on shore at Manawagonish, and, to his great satisfaction, found Mc Coll and Wilson at Carleton. A 'little conference' was held, when it was thought best that McColl should remain in St. John, and Wilson proceed to Cumberland, leaving Fidler to take the place of McColl at St. Stephen. An unlooked-for circumstance disturbed this plan; and Black, 'solicitously requested by many with prayers and tears' not to leave St. John at once, remained in the city for a time. Here he was followed by McColl, who, after having spent six weeks with his flock at St. Stephen, returned to St. John, to remain there during the winter.

'On the 14th of October, 1798,' says McColl, 'I embarked with Mrs. McColl on board a new schooner, bound to the city of St. John. We had a long and tedious passage of ten days. We made things as agreeable as we could, for we had several gentlemen passengers; they were polite enough to hear, whether they intended

to comply or not. Our friends were glad to see us and I commenced my work among them; our meeting-house was often crowded . . . . In the course of the winter I strove to preach the word, and was called to baptize some children, and to preach at the Marsh. Six or seven sleighs-full of friends accompanied me. I took for my text, Gal. 6. 7.—'Be not deceived, God is not mocked.' The word seemed to take hold and the baptisms were very solemn; but no sooner was I done than an Antinomian preacher, who attended with some of his friends, rose up and denounced me to hell. Some of his friends stood by him and seconded his charges; others also began to oppose; but at my request the landlord commanded silence. They then went out and made more noise about the door. Some gentlemen in the city, who were men in authority, were displeased, and wanted us to take the law of these people, but I refused. However, I saw many of these Antinomians continue to attend our public meetings while I remained in the city. In the course of the winter I visited Fredericton, the Nashwaak, and many other places up the river. The snow was very deep, and the time very stormy, and sometimes I had hard doings to break a path for my horse.'

On his return to the city, McColl, at Black's request, visited Annapolis. 'After having remained with them two months,' he says, 'I returned to St. John, where putting the society in as good a way as I could, I prepared to return to St. Stephen. I found things in a much better condition than I could expect, after an absence of nine months. Mr. Watson had kept them in as good order as he could. The first Sunday, we had abundance of weeping, but weeping may be where there is no religion. I now began my work afresh, and made a

visit to the Lodge, where I had preached before,—some few times. There our meetings were exceedingly lively, although very small. One day, immediately after I had prayed, I proposed to such as felt their minds awakened, to come forward and unite in class; five did so, who had clear experience of the pardoning love of God. In a few weeks more, we had eighteen. This good work extended to other parts of the St. Stephen circuit. [10]

The single name of John Mann appears on the Minutes of 1798, in connection with the immense field included in the Windsor and Annapolis circuits. But he was not quite alone. During the previous year, John Cooper, after having passed through a severe trial, had professed to receive a fresh assurance of the favor of God, and had been admitted as a candidate for membership. At the Conference, permission was given him to act as a local preacher, and Black was authorized to call him again into the itinerancy, if he should think such a step advisable. In the course of the year, Cooper made his appearance as a helper of Mann in his immense charge, in opposition to the views of some judicious persons, who deemed longer probation desirable. His earlier efforts were crowned with some degree of success. 'On my return to the city from Sheffield,' writes McColl, in the spring of 1799, 'I received three letters in one day, from Mr. Black, requesting me to go to Annapolis, where, he said, a great work had begun. I immediately set out, and found, on my arrival at Annapolis, the next day, this noisy work going on under the preaching of J. C.; but I felt sorry I could not wholly approve of the work. However, I remained with them two months.'

The difficulties of Black, as presiding elder, were greatly increased by the determination of Fidler to

[10] 'B. N. A. Magazine,' 1841, pp. 460-1.

return to the United States in the autumn. Longings for home, and for the fellowship of former colleagues, had tempted him to leave his work during the previous year, but Black, who could ill spare, from the handful of provincial preachers, one who had proved himself to be a workman possessed of sterling common sense, and guided by a spirit of deep devotion to his work, had persuaded him to remain. While in Halifax, during Black's absence in New Brunswick, Fidler again grew impatient to return. Black hoped that an appointment to St. Stephen would reconcile him to a further delay, but receiving unsatisfactory replies to his letters, he addressed to him from St. John an earnest appeal to postpone his return and await an opportunity, when 'his lack of service would be less unfriendly to the interests of religion in the Connexion.' Fidler, however, would not be detained. He remained at his post in Halifax until Black's return, and then prepared to depart. 'I spent my time,' he wrote in his journal, 'agreeably and profitably till October the 11th. Then left my dear Halifax friends, and sailed for Shelburne; called at Liverpool, and spent a few hours agreeably with my dear old friends; and arrived safely at Shelburne on the 13th.' After a detention of a month at Shelburne, caused by an attack of small-pox, he sailed from Shelburne on the 13th of November, 1798, and landed at New York on the 23rd of the same month.

The career of Daniel Fidler, from the time of his return to his native land until the period when, an old patriarch of the New Jersey Conference, he departed to dwell in his Master's presence, is one which may be traced with unmingled satisfaction. Coke held him in high esteem, and in 1800 selected him as a missionary to the Bahamas. Drafts on the Missionary Society, and letters of intro-

duction to different parties, were prepared, but circumstances, unknown to us, prevented him from reaching his West Indian appointment. In one of the letters, addressed to the Governor General of the Bahamas, Coke wrote concerning him, 'I have a very high opinion of his honor, integrity and loyalty. His primary design is to be beneficial to the blacks and colored people, but he is a man of ability sufficient to be beneficial to any.' Respecting his term in Nova Scotia, the Doctor wrote to a brother minister, 'I have reason to believe he gave very complete satisfaction to the government, to our Societies, and to all who knew him.' In 1808, the lack of support, which drove nearly all married men out of the American itinerancy, led him to locate and enter the mercantile business at Baltimore; but the death of his wife, in 1811, having furnished both an opportunity and a call to resume his life work, he again offered his services to the Conference, and received an appointment. His second marriage was not followed by location, though continuance in the itinerancy involved frequent and long absence from his wife and children, who, after 1817, remained in one locality.

His piety must have been of a singularly happy and cheerful character. His diary shows him to have endured many hardships, yet no complaint, or even reference to his fare or compensation, can be found in it. On the contrary, it abounds with allusions to the kindness of friends, and to the support and comfort derived from the Gospel he preached. In 1831 he became a supernumerary. He, however, continued to labour, as his health would permit, with increasing zeal and acceptance, until within a few months of his death. His last sermon, after a ministry of more than half a century, was preached on the 20th of June, 1842. As he spoke, on the morning of that

day, of the manifested and unveiled glory of God, reserved for the vision of the faithful when the earthly strife shall have ceased, his soul seemed to kindle into rapture, in view of the approach of that period. The decline of health, thenceforward more rapid, brought with it a certain confusion of thought respecting temporal subjects, but on that of religion he was 'clear, calm, and dispassionate,' up to the latest hour of life. Those who heard, in the love-feast, his last public utterance, will not soon forget the deep-toned feelings with which he spoke of mercies past and present, and of his brightening prospect of a certain and glorious immortality. On the morning of the 27th of August, 1842, he fell asleep in Jesus.[11]

No record of the Conference of 1799, which was appointed to be held at Windsor on the first Friday in June, has been preserved; and few details of the progress of the work in the several circuits during that year have come down to us. At Sackville, under the ministry of Cooper, appointed to the Cumberland circuit, 'several were awakened, some converted, and professors invigorated and excited to fresh activity in their Master's cause.' McColl spent two months of the summer in St. John, and then left the society 'in peace and love,' to return to his circuit at St. Stephen.

During this year a further reduction in the staff of ministerial laborers took place, through the removal of William Grandin. At the close of the Conference he returned to Liverpool and remained there until December, when he took his departure. From that time his name has no place in our records, nor in the Minutes of the Conferences in the United States, to which country he removed. Grandin was but one of a class of worthy men, who were driven, by the utterly insufficient provisi-

[11] 'New Jersey Conference Memorial,' p. 60.

on for the support of themselves and their families, from a ministry in which they had done noble service. Less eloquent than some of his brethren, he won the respect and love of those among whom he labored, by his amiable disposition and his unwearied and plodding efforts to save sinners and build up believers. The useful lives and triumphant deaths of many, blessed under his ministry, who passed away from various parts of the Lower Provinces during the half-century which followed his removal, prove that he was a workman who needed not to be ashamed.

Thus, at the end of 1799, the band of itinerants, which Black had sought by persistent effort to increase, was reduced to six; William Black, John Mann, James Mann, Duncan McColl, Benjamin Wilson and John Cooper. The leader of these, Black, was absent from the Provinces at the end of the year, having gone to seek reinforcements in another direction.

CHAPTER XII.

REVIEW OF METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, AT THE END OF 1799.

Halifax. Unhealthy influences at Liverpool. Shelburne. Mrs. Hoose. Windsor. Decline of the work at Newport. Help afforded by Rev. W. Twining at Horton. Cumberland. Annapolis. Loss in New Brunswick through want of laborers. St. John. First Methodist church at Nashwaak. Sheffield. McColl at St. Stephen. Prince Edward Island. Total membership in the Lower Provinces. Losses by removal from Halifax and St. John. Solution of the question whether the Methodism of the Lower Provinces should be after the English or American type. Influence of American Methodism upon that of the Lower Provinces. Views of the early Provincial Methodists respecting the Episcopal Church. Wesley's advice upon the subject. Period of final separation between Methodists and Episcopalians in the Lower Provinces. Attack of the Episcopal Bishop.

The year 1799 forms an era in the Methodism of the Lower Provinces. The last of those American preachers, who labored for a short time in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and then returned to the work in United States, had taken his departure. Two, who had reached the Provinces from the American Conference, indeed, remained, but one of these settled, a year or two later in New Brunswick, while the other was soon dismissed from the ministry. And at the end of 1799, Black, the earnest and active superintendent, who had seen laborers arrive and depart, until, with new calls for ministerial labor reaching him, he found himself unable to supply the established circuits, had left Nova Scotia, to seek, in another quarter, the assistance he could no longer obtain from the neighboring republic.

A review, at this period of transition, of the state of the circuits, in which churches had in part been planted and cherished by the energy and devotion of the Ameri-

can itinerants; and an estimate of the influence exerted upon the Methodism of the Lower Provinces by that of the United States, through the presence of these itinerants, will not be uninteresting, nor uninstructive. Materials for such a purpose are few and fragmentary—the English minutes in which the returns for 1794 are copied for several years in succession, being of no use—yet a comparatively correct view may be obtained from the few documents of the day which have been preserved.

In Halifax, the church, the corner stone of which had been laid by Jessop, provided accommodation for about nine hundred hearers. Fidler, who closed his provincial ministry in that town, in the autumn of 1798, preached to 'very large' congregations, with 'much liberty and satisfaction.' Those changes in trade which led to many arrivals and departures affected at the same time the membership of the church. The number of these was also occasionally influenced by the movements of British regiments, among whom Methodism did, at that day, a quiet, but successful work. A regiment which left Quebec for Halifax, in 1799, contained twenty-six members of the Methodist Church. According to the returns of membership, made at the Conference of 1798,—the latest of which we have been able to avail ourselves—the church in Halifax consisted of one hundred and twenty members, among whom, said an itinerant, were some of 'the excellent ones of the earth.'

From Liverpool, where the congregations worshipped in a 'neat, large building,' capable of containing five or six hundred persons, a membership of one hundred and thirty was at the same time reported. Already, however, a tendency towards 'ebb and flow' in religious feeling was observed in that circuit. The tide at this period was at the ebb. The social influences of the place,

and the public balls, had developed in the minds of the young a spirit unfriendly to religion, and to those who sought from the pulpit to point out 'a more excellent way.' The business of Liverpool at the close of the last century was also unfavorable to religious prosperity. The merchants of that town, who had suffered severely through the capture of a number of their vessels engaged in the West India trade, had entered heartily into privateering, and had fitted out several vessels to prey upon the enemy's commerce. The influence of a business which has since been condemned as unjust, by nearly all civilized nations; the departure of privateers, chiefly manned from the neighborhood, and their frequent return with prizes; and the influx of strangers, who came to purchase the captured vessels and their cargoes, were unfavorable to religious thought and practice.

The membership of the Shelburne circuit, which included Shelburne, Barrington, and the intermediate settlements, was reported to be one hundred fifty-eight. The changes, which had led to the almost total depopulation of the town of Shelburne, had seriously affected the membership of the circuit. Not less than two hundred and fifty of those who had professed conversion through the agency of the early Methodist laborers had been scattered abroad. James Mann, stationed on the circuit in 1799, reported the work as wearing 'a better aspect.' Services were then held at Shelburne in a sail-loft in Ann street, fitted up for the purpose with pulpit and benches; in Barrington, during the summer, in the old meeting-house at the head of the harbor; and at the other settlements, in private houses. At the head of those members who resided in the town of Shelburne was Robert Barry, who had clung to its destinies, while with sorrow he had seen thousands depart.

Associated with Robert Barry, in the less public duties of the church at Shelburne, was his sister Elizabeth. Elizabeth Barry was a convert of Captain Webb, who at the commencement of the Revolutionary war had returned to England. Webb's native talent, says Tyerman, 'was respectable; he had seen much of life; his education enabled him to read his Greek Testament, which is still a much-prized relic in America; his enthusiasm was almost unbounded; and his impassioned eloquence sometimes overwhelming.' Portsmouth, the residence of the Barry family, was favored with his services. 'Here crowds of sailors and soldiers listened with all possible veneration to the Christian warrior, whose shaded eye gave evidence of his active service, and under the spontaneous effusions of his holy eloquence trembled as they would not have trembled on the field of battle, and wept on account of sin, when they would have scorned to weep on account of pain.' Others also listened to him with deep interest. On a certain day, on which he preached at Portsmouth, Elizabeth Barry, with some thoughtless young friends, went to hear him. He read for his text, 'The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.' As he described class after class to whom these words were applicable her attention was arrested. For a time she inwardly replied to the preacher, as he described certain characters, 'This does not apply to me;' but, before the close of the service, the Spirit had made such an application of the truth to her conscience, as caused her to return to her home under the conviction that she was a sinner. Conviction in her case was soon followed by conversion. Robert Barry loved his sister with a deeper affection, now that he in a strange land, and she at home, had become partakers of the common salvation. As he was

then unmarried he invited her to come out to Shelburne, and keep house for him. She left home with the intention of returning after a time, but her marriage, in 1788, with Dr. John Hoose, a surgeon of one of the disbanded Hessian regiments, fixed her residence permanently at Shelburne. Her house became a Methodist centre, and at a later period, the home of the young minister stationed on the circuit. In September, 1824, after years of 'pain and feebleness extreme,' she entered into rest.

The Windsor circuit, which embraced Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth, Windsor and Newport, had suffered severely from a lack of ministerial oversight. From this circuit a membership of eighty was reported. The church at Windsor, which some can yet remember, then stood nearly half a mile from the village which lay along the banks of the Avon. During the winter, services were held in dwellings, and in the workshop of Walter Rickards. The visits of the preachers were occasional rather than regular. A minister who halted at Windsor, and preached there one evening in the autumn of 1800, to a 'respectable little company,' in a private dwelling, noted with regret the decline of 'vital Christianity,' and the prevalence of 'indifference, gaiety and fashion,' yet rejoiced over a few who worshipped God in the spirit. In Newport, a sad decline had taken place. The passage of years and the care of a numerous family had lessened John Mann's power to labor. Soon after his arrival at Newport a revival of rare power and extent had taken place under his ministry, but, from causes upon which it would be idle to dwell, a severe reaction had followed. 'Multitudes,' says James Mann, in a biographical sketch of his brother, 'flocked to hear, and a society was formed which consisted of about sixty members,

most of whom had experienced a happy change from nature to grace, from sin to holiness, and from bondage to liberty. It is however to be lamented, that a few years afterward the work began to decline; and many left the society, fell into the Antinomian delusion and joined the Newlights, while others fell into open sin, which caused him many painful and sorrowful hours.' In July, 1794, a lot of land was given for the erection of a church at Newport, and during the following month another lot was placed in the hands of trustees at Kennetcook, for the same purpose. The erection of the church at Newport was at once proceeded with, but no steps towards the building of that at Kennetcook seem to have been taken for a number of years.

At Horton, where many of those who had been converted under the ministry of Black and Garrettson had been lost to Methodism through the lack of pastoral care, a number remained faithful. To these the Episcopal minister of Cornwallis, William Twining, preached once in three weeks, in their own church at Lower Horton, where he also frequently administered the Lord's Supper. Upon the separation of Cornwallis, in 1790, from Wilmot and Aylesford, all of which places had been under the charge of one minister, the Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had appointed Mr. Twining, previously their missionary at Exhuma, one of the Bahamas, to the pastoral charge of Cornwallis. He had entered upon the work of the ministry without that personal experience of salvation which must ever be the grand qualification for that office. When Black first met him, in the autumn of 1793, he saw but dimly God's method of saving men, yet he was sufficiently enlightened to discern in Black an ambassador of Christ, to receive him as such, and to hear him

preach. Black writes respecting him, in 1804; 'For several years the Rev. Mr. Twining, a minister of the Established Church, and missionary, resident at Cornwallis, has once in three weeks preached in our chapel at Horton, and frequently administered the Lord's Supper to our people. About five or six years ago, he was brought to experience the converting grace of God, from which time he has not shunned to preach the necessity of regeneration, and warmly to press on the consciences of his hearers this and the other distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel. He has been frequently present at the meeting of the class, when he has spoken with much sweetness, humility, and thankfulness of the grace of Jesus Christ, and of the Lord's dealings with his soul; and has sometimes met the society himself. His attachment to the Methodists, and his plain manner of preaching the Gospel, have brought upon him much reproach, and considerable trial from some, from whom much encouragement ought to have been received. Benjamin Belcher, Esq., one of his vestry, who had been his principal opponent, and had laid many charges against him before the bishop, on his death-bed sent for Mr. Twining to pray with him, and in his will left two hundred pounds towards building him a church.' After conversion, Mr. Twining thought seriously of placing himself under the direction of the Methodist Conference. Black, it is said, advised him to remain in the Episcopal Church, believing that his continuance there would enable him to do good in circles not then accessible to a Methodist minister. This advice—based upon an assumption, which, possibly correct at that day, now detains some men of true piety and devotion in a Church where by their personal ministry they benefit the circle of their parishioners, while by the influence of their

names and character they lead a much larger number within the range of opinions and practices, which they themselves utterly condemn—Mr. Twining followed; but to the end of his days retained a warm regard for Methodism. After having discharged for several years the duties of parochial minister and garrison chaplain at Sydney, C.B., he removed to Liverpool, where he finished a long term of service, universally respected and lamented. His son, John Thomas Twining, D.D., for many years held the position of garrison chaplain at Halifax, and attended to the duties of that office with rare fidelity.

The Cumberland circuit was situated partly in Nova Scotia, and partly in New Brunswick. It consisted of a chain of settlements, stretching from the Nappan river on the east, to the Peticodiac river on the west, a distance of about forty miles. The principal places were Sackville and Point de Bute. From these the minister extended his labors to Dorchester, Amherst, Fort Lawrence, Fort Cumberland, Baie de Verte, and Nappan, and occasionally to Wallace. At Point de Bute stood the 'stone chapel,' surrounded by woods; at Sackville stood another chapel; at Amherst, the inhabitants listened to sermons preached in the court-house; while, at Fort Lawrence, the house of Thomas Roach, Esq., and at Nappan, that of Mr. Pike, answered the purpose of a church. At Dorchester, services were held in different dwellings, to accommodate a scattered population. In this large circuit there had been little growth for several years. Under the labors of Cooper, in 1799, a few gleams of light encouraged weary watchers, but these were not followed by pure and perfect day. Wallace, so far distant as to be regarded an appendage, and not a part of the circuit proper, and therefore seldom visited, presented a pleasant exception to the general character. 'There,'

wrote Black, 'the most abandoned have for a number of years become the most orderly and pious part of the country,' while 'civil and religious discords have rendered almost vain, all the labors bestowed on the other parts of the circuit.' One hundred and twenty members were reported from Cumberland at the Conference of 1798.

The neighborhoods in the Annapolis circuit, extend- from Wilmot Mountain to the Waldeck settlement, had been frequently visited with revivals, through which large numbers were brought into communion with Christ, and fellowship with His Church. In this circuit Black had won souls for his Master at the beginning of his itinerancy; and Grandin had also successfully labored there for some time. In 1852, Abraham Lent, of Clements, who, with his worthy wife was among the first converts under Grandin's faithful ministry, finished his consistent course when nearly a hundred years of age. Eighty members were reported from the circuit, 'nearly all of whom,' said Black, 'profess an experimental knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of His redeeming love.' With regular services and proper pastoral care the number gathered into church-membership would have been very much larger. About this period a neat little church, capable of seating four hundred persons, was erected at Annapolis. Several visits had been paid to Digby, after the removal of the colored people to Sierra Leone, but without any satisfactory results. The large amount of smuggling carried on at Digby, at the close of the century, in addition to the Sabbath trading, visiting, and drinking; the neglect of public worship; and the profane swearing, of which the worthy rector, Roger Viets, complained in an address to his parishioners, at Michaelmas, 1789, and for the suppression of which

he begged the magistrates to use their authority, had exerted a baneful influence upon the inhabitants of that place.

From the lack of laborers the work in New Brunswick suffered more seriously, if possible, than in Nova Scotia. Fields white unto the harvest received no attention, while settlements where a good work had been begun obtained a so small proportion of pastoral care that the societies formed were soon scattered. Through these causes the circuits in that province had so far lost their identity, that at the conference of 1798, their names were not placed upon the Minutes,—the name of New Brunswick only appearing in connection with the one hundred and eighty-four members returned from that province. Of the number of members reported, about eighty were resident in, or very near St. John. In that town, the services held in the church purchased during Bishop's short pastorate, and supposed to seat four hundred persons, were well attended. The remaining portion of the reported membership were to be found at St. Stephen, and in the societies formed at Sheffield, Nashwaak and Fredericton. The distance of the last three societies from their friends at the mouth of the St. John permitted them to receive but a very small share of attention from any ministers who might find their way for a time to the city. The discouragements, in spite of which Duncan Blair and his few friends at Fredericton still held on their way, have been pointed out on a previous page. The first Methodist church at the Nashwaak was built in 1795. It stood in front of the lot on which the Presbyterian church now stands. Shelter, and not beauty, was the object of its builders. It was built of logs, and floored and ceiled with boards sawn by hand; a piece of plank, supported by four posts

served for a desk, while a similar arrangement of suitable height formed a seat for the preacher. The hearers provided their own seats. In this church some of the old fore-fathers of the hamlet learned of Christ. One, who knew well the early Methodists of Sheffield, most of whom had been Congregationalists, writes of them as 'worthy old professors, very discerning people, and latterly, very pious and loving disciples of Christ.' Since the departure of Fidler the services conducted by their own pastors had been few and irregular. Under such circumstances, much increase in numbers could not be expected.

'If this river,' Black wrote in 1804,' 'had been properly supplied with suitable preachers, for twelve years back, almost the entire country for two hundred miles together, would have embraced the Methodist doctrine. That time is now lost; they are deeply initiated into the mysteries of Antinomianism, which in some instances has produced extravagances, hardly to be surpassed in the whole history of enthusiasm. Most of those who were in connection with Mr. Alline, and are here commonly called "Newlights," have lately, both preachers and people, assumed the name of Baptists, and are become somewhat more sober, both in doctrine and discipline. Their doctrines formerly were a strange mixture of Mysticism and Antinomianism. They have now adopted a looser kind of Calvinism than generally prevails in England. Yet there are amongst them many very pious persons who deeply lament these disorders, and to whom I feel my heart united in the Lord Jesus Christ.' [1]

The position of Duncan McColl at St. Stephen resembled that of John Mann at Newport. Each dwelt on his own lands, whence he made occasional excursions to

[1] 'Methodist Magazine,' 1805, p. 190.

other portions of the field, while he devoted the larger share of his time to the localities nearest his home. One difference existed,—a childless home left McColl more free to extend his labors, where he or his brethren discerned pressing need. His frequent absence from St. Stephen was not calculated to promote the prosperity of the work in that part of the province, yet, in the autumn of 1799, he was cheered by conversions in several parts of the circuit.

The Island of St. John, to which, in 1799, the name of Prince Edward was given, had ceased to appear in the Minutes. No preacher had visited it, subsequently to Black's journey thither in the autumn of 1794, and even the nominal return of membership had been allowed to drop from the list. Benjamin Chappell, in the absence of any prospect of ministerial supply from the Methodist Conference, had addressed a letter to Bishop Inglis of Nova Scotia, in which he described the spiritual necessities of the island, and requested aid. To assist him in the selection of a proper person, Mr. Chappell asked in somewhat suggestive style, for a man, 'not full of himself and pride, as of new wine, but a man of sense and experience, able to teach the way of life and salvation.' The Bishop had no such man to spare, and therefore the rector of the parish of Charlotte remained for a further period the only Protestant minister in the island.

The total membership of the Methodist Church in the Lower Provinces, at the commencement of this century, may be estimated at eight hundred and fifty, and the number of its adherents at about three thousands. The proportion of the attendants upon public worship to the membership of the Church was smaller at that day than at present; as many of those of whom the

societies were then composed were individuals, who under a strong conviction of duty, and unaccompanied, in many instances, by their nearest relatives, had withdrawn from a ministry which failed in its presentation of Gospel truth to afford any satisfactory answer to that question of questions, 'How shall a man be just with God.' In view of the small staff of preachers in the field, the unceasing opposition to which they are were exposed from more than one quarter, and the constant losses by removals, the success indicated by the figures used may be regarded as of no mean character. The loss to the membership, from removals only, had been very great. Black, in 1804, estimated those from the church in Halifax, from the time of his transfer to that place, at three hundred; and those from St. John, from the arrival of Bishop in 1791, at one hundred. A few of those who removed may have identified themselves with the societies in other provincial circuits, but the great majority had either gone to districts where such identification was impossible, or had taken their departure from the provinces. Respecting other disadvantages under which our fathers labored at this period, James Mann writes, 'We have been laboring as in the fire, scarcely able to keep those who from time to time are impressed with divine things, from being decoyed by deceivers, or from embracing those pernicious doctrines which are generally disseminated through this country.'

The final withdrawal of the American preachers, through whose labors, in part, these societies had been established, furnished a solution to the problem whether Methodism in the Lower Provinces should assume the Episcopal form of church-government, as in the United States; or the Presby-

terian form, as in England. During the earlier years of her history the probabilities had been in favor of the former. The official designations were all those of the Methodist Episcopal style. The ordination parchments, even of those who were ordained in England for Newfoundland, were signed by Coke, as 'Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church;' all Coke's letters to Black were addressed to him, as 'Presiding Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia;' in the Minutes the distinction between 'elders' and 'deacons' was carefully observed; and in the original book of records at Halifax, commenced by Black, the American designation is used. In their financial arrangements also, the ministers in Nova Scotia had adopted the American rule of 1785, by which the annual allowance of each preacher was fixed at 'sixty-four dollars and no more.' This virtual adoption of American titles and usages had not taken place without the implied sanction of Wesley. 'Does there not want,' he had written to Black, in 1784, 'a closer and more direct connection between you of the North, and the Societies under Francis Asbury? Is it not more advisable that you should have a constant correspondence with each other, and act by united counsels? Perhaps it is for want of this that so many have drawn back'.[2] The designation, by Wesley, of Garrettson, as Superintendent of the Methodist Societies in the British dominions in America, and the effort made by Coke to secure his appointment, furnish a more emphatic expression of Wesley's views. With these views Coke was in thorough sympathy. In 1791, he wrote to Black from Chatham, Kent; 'I don't find any objection to give the government of the work in Nova Scotia to the American Conference, on condition that

[2] 'Memoir of Black,' p. 127.

you continue presiding elder, and that the brethren in general in Nova Scotia will not object to it.' Black, who for many years cherished a wish to return to his native land, was anxious to see the work placed under Asbury's care. The 'objection' to his removal from the provinces 'he endeavored,' his biographer tells us, 'at one period to obviate, by proposing that the Societies in Nova Scotia and the sister provinces should be transferred to the American Connexion. Their proximity to the United States, he was then of opinion, would greatly contribute to the extension and stability of the work, by securing a more regular supply of ministerial agency, and the efficient superintendence of the Bishops.' 'It is now a subject of consideration among us,' Black at one time wrote to Bishop Asbury, 'whether we ought not to put ourselves under the direction of the American Bishops. I have mentioned it to some of the preachers.' [3]

Black's proposal, though in accordance with the views of Wesley and Coke, was never carried into effect. The adoption of a similar plan seemed almost a matter of certainty when Coke received the consent of Garrettson's brethren to his appointment as Superintendent in British North America, but, for reasons which have never been clearly stated, that appointment was cancelled. It seems probable that such a proposal would have been submitted by Coke to the Provincial Conference, in 1786, had he reached Halifax; but the tempest bore him away to the West Indies. It seemed still more probable that at the Provincial Conference of 1793, in view of the correspondence which had taken place between Coke and Black upon the subject, arrangements would be made to place the provincial work under the care of the American Conference; but circumstances—often only another word for

[3] 'Memoir of Black,' p. 310.

Providence—led Coke homeward, and though, on reaching England, he wrote Black, 'Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are first upon my list to be visited in all America,' he never looked upon the country, the relation of the spiritual necessities of which had first stirred his boundless energies, and on behalf of which he had made his first missionary appeal and collection.

The link necessary for the connection of the Methodism of the Lower Provinces with that of the United States was thus missing, and the consequences became obvious. Asbury felt himself bound to devote his whole energies to the cultivation of the large field over which he had been made overseer; and the American preachers, finding themselves in an ambiguous position through the prosecution of their work in a region beyond the bounds of their General Conference; and exposed to the jealousy of the Provincial Governments—that of New Brunswick in particular—in consequence of their inability as American citizens to take the oath of allegiance, withdrew one after another to their own country, leaving the few original laborers to continue their work, unaided and alone. These, thus abandoned, had to submit to see fields white unto the harvest, in which they had hoped to gather sheaves, occupied by others, whose views of Gospel truth they could not sanction, and some of whose practices they felt themselves bound to condemn. Thenceforward the ordination by Asbury of several provincial preachers, who visited the United States for that purpose, constituted the only connection of American with Provincial Methodism.

To speculate upon the results which would have followed the adoption of a different course would be idle. It may, however, be remarked that Methodism, which holds but a fourth-rate position among the Churches of

the Lower Provinces, stands in the American Republic, and in the Province of Ontario, where it was fostered by the American Conference, in advance of all other religious bodies.

It was, doubtless, well for the future independence of Provincial Methodism that at this formative period, so many American preachers were associated with Black. With that type of Methodism seen in Yorkshire, where Wesley, Nelson and other itinerants, only intent on preaching the Word, as enjoined in the New Testament, had no time for more elaborate services, Black was most familiar. His training had also saved him from the influence of those 'inveterate prejudices,' which hampered Wesley throughout life, and often caused his actions to be contradicted, so far as they could be, by his words. The early Methodist laity of the Lower Provinces were not, however, unanimous in their opinions respecting the Episcopal Church. The early Yorkshire settlers, who had withdrawn from it through conscientious convictions, had no scruples about entire separation from its communion. Those whom Methodism, happily for herself, had gathered from the wrecks of the Congregational Churches, weakened through the influence of the Revolutionary war, and broken down through the Newlight agitation, were equally free from any perplexing doubts. It need scarcely be added that those Methodists, who were of Presbyterian descent, had brought with them as a result of their early training a measure of that spirit of civil and religious independence for which Presbyterianism has always been distinguished. On the other hand, the small body of Methodists, which had reached the Provinces at the close of the war, had certain Episcopal predilections. In New York they had attended Episcopal services, and had in consequence re-

ceived a kindly recognition from the clergy; and having made serious sacrifices for the sake of Britain, it is not strange that they clung with a certain chivalric feeling to a Church, to which, however unjustly, had been given a dearly-loved national name. Robert Barry, a recognized leader among these, when writing many years later to a friend whom he feared to be wavering in his attachment to Methodism, said: 'I was myself at one time so attached to the "Church" forms that I opposed the introduction of preaching in "Church" hours at Shelburne; and, had I had any powerful auxiliaries in my family circle, I do not know how far my opposition might have carried me, and what might have been the consequences; but it appears to me that if I had persisted I might thereby have prevented a great deal of good in others, and had I been so stiff as to have withdrawn from my religious friends, I might have retained the form and lost the power of godliness. 'And what thanks would the "Church" have given me for it?' It was well, in this divided state of opinion, that a ministry unfettered by any traditional regard for a National Church, and disposed, indeed, to look upon such an institution as opposed to real freedom, should have been engaged in the provincial work.

Wesley's correspondence with his friends upon this subject was of a prudent and guarded character. To Barry, who had consulted him about some conscientious scruples felt by himself and others respecting attendance upon the ministry of William Walter, D.D. the gentlemanly, but gay rector of Shelburne, Wesley wrote in 1785, 'I advise you by all lawful means to keep favor with your clergymen. If they can do little good, they can do much harm, to the work of God. They can lay more hindrances in the way than you are sensible of. If it

be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men but with the clergy in particular. If you can do it without violating your conscience, make, and keep them your friends; at least, if it can be avoided make them not your enemies.' In reference to the intended appointment to Nova Scotia of a Bishop, upon whom Garrettson had been led to look with favor, Wesley, whose experience with Bishops generally had not been of the happiest character, wrote, 'I do not expect any great matters from the bishop. I doubt his eye is not single, and if it be not, he will do little good to you or any one else. It may be a comfort to you to know that you have no need of him; you want nothing that he can give.'

It seems probable that the holding of services in 'Church' hours, on the completion of the new Methodist church in Halifax during Jessop's ministry there in 1792, was regarded by Bishop Inglis as a declaration of independence. On no other ground can an explanation be given of a statement—most unjust so far as the Methodists were concerned—made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 'These' said the Bishop, in 1793, in reference to the Newlights and others, 'and the Methodists, since they broke off from the "Church" and made a formal schism, know no bounds and run into the greatest extravagances.'[4] The Bishop's mis-application of the word 'schism,' simply applicable to a strife within a body, and not to any peaceful withdrawal from it, may be accounted for by the frequent and thoughtless manner in which that word is flung by certain parties at those who claim the right to differ from them in things not essential; but the effort to establish a connexion between the Methodists and Newlights, whose extrava-

[4] Report S. P. L. for 1794.

gances at that period were in some instances almost beyond belief, must be charged, not to 'want of thought,' but to 'want of heart.' The animus of the bishop became evident from a sermon preached by him on the 9th of June, 1793. In that sermon, 'he grossly misrepresented those who were endeavouring to work out their salvation with fear and trembling.' The allusion to the Methodists, was so 'obvious,' and the attack 'so harsh and gratuitous,' that Black felt himself called upon to reply in public to these 'equally ungracious and unfounded assertions and insinuations.[5] A similar attack was soon after made upon the Methodists by a clergyman from England, who denounced their ministry and doctrines, and branded them as 'fanatics.'[6] One turns with a pleasant sense of relief from such scenes, to meet men like Twining and Desbrisay, to whom reference has been made on previous pages.

In view of the efforts made at a subsequent period to use the revenues of the country in the interests of a single branch of the Church, the fact that Methodists in the Lower Provinces were early led by their guides, or driven by their opponents, to stand side by side with certain other branches of the Church in the struggle for equal rights, affords much satisfaction.'

[5] 'Memoir of Black' p. 299.

[6] Ib. p. 299.

CHAPTER XIII.

METHODISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND, FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1800 TO THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE YEAR, 1812-13.

Religious state of Newfoundland at the beginning of the century. Praiseworthy efforts of the British and Colonial authorities. Results of neglect. Roman Catholic proselytism. Arrival of ministers sent out by the London Missionary Society. James Bulpit. John Remmington. John Stretton. Grates Cove. John Hoskins, Jr. Arrival of William Ellis and Samuel McDowell. Request for a Missionary, from Bonavista. Appointment of William Ward to that place. Coke's care for his Missionaries. Return of Remmington to Ireland. Death of Ward. The work in Conception Bay. Erection of new churches. Revival in Island Cove. John Gosse, Esq. Arrival of Richard Taylor. State of the work at the close of 1812. Sad events.

Newfoundland, as she appears at the commencement of the present century, presents a gloomy picture to those who value men in accordance with the estimate which heaven has placed upon them. Among the class, composed of merchants, agents and clerks, the extensive circulation of the low, infidel sentiments of certain writers of the period, had wrought much evil; while the busy, slavish life of the fisherman, permitting him little time for rest or thought at certain seasons, combined with the absence of education, and the constant presence of temptations to the great leading sins of sabbath-breaking and drunkenness, made it difficult to preserve even the appearance of morality, Strong was the confidence, and severe the discipline, of the faithful few who walked with God.

The efforts of the authorities to improve the moral and religious state of the thousands who were scattered along the coasts of the colony are not unworthy of mention. Admiral Waldegrave is said to have ordered the

distribution of two hundred and fifty copies of 'Watson's Apology for the Bible.' His successor, Gov. Gambier, endeavored to establish Sunday-schools among the Protestants and Roman Catholics of St. John's, and the clergyman at Harbor Grace followed his example. The British government was not slow in offers of financial aid. Included in the expenses of the civil establishment of the island, in 1806, are allowances of fifty pounds each to five missionaries of the Church of England, and a grant of seven hundred pounds towards the erection of a parsonage at St. John's. In 1810, when the number of Episcopal ministers was reduced to two, and the Protestants of the colony were showing a 'lively sense' of their destitution, by building churches in several of the outports, and by active efforts to procure a ministerial supply, the British government sought to encourage clergymen to respond to the calls from Newfoundland, by the promise of a pension of one hundred pounds a year to any one in holy orders who should present a certificate of having exercised the functions of his office for ten years in the colony. All these efforts, however, availed little ; for in 1815, but three Episcopal ministers were to be found in the island.

With the consequences of this unwillingness on the part of the Episcopal ministry to 'go over and possess the land' all Protestants in the island are familiar. The Romish priests saw their opportunity and hastened to use it. Passing from harbor to harbor, with a readiness to brave exposure on the coast, and endure the discomforts of life on shore, which furnished to the ministers of the Church of England a worthy but unappreciated example, they pursued their system of proselytism with a zeal worthy of a nobler cause. Their success can only be contemplated with sadness. 'It is better' said

the neglected descendants of English Protestants 'to belong to the Roman Catholic Church than to none,' as they still hesitated to forsake the faith of their fathers. After a time, however, they ceased to hesitate; and the inhabitants of whole settlements, and even districts, placed themselves under the care of the Romish priesthood. 'Thousands along the coast,' wrote an agent of the London Missionary Society from Newfoundland, in 1815, 'have become, and are still becoming Roman Catholics. There is a place called Cubits, in Conception Bay, where it is said that more than five hundred persons have become Papists, who six years ago were Protestants.'[2] It is well known that the district of Placentia and St. Mary's, whence, by the census of 1874, five-sixths of the population were returned as Romanists, was settled by English Protestants, a large proportion of whose descendants still occupy the lands appropriated by their fathers. In the absence of the barriers presented in the early part of the present century by the Congregationalists and Methodists, it would be hard to tell where this system of proselytism would have ended,—if it may yet be said to have ended. Unaided from the national exchequer, and only permitted to exist by a toleration, the wisdom of which is still questioned by some Englishmen, these Churches sent forth men who proved, under Providence, the principal agents in saving the Protestantism of England's oldest colony from extinction. In process of time this work devolved principally upon the ministry of Methodism, but during the earlier years of the century, the agents of the London Missionary Society proved themselves active co-laborers.

The first minister, sent by this Society to Newfoundland, reached Twillingate, in Notre Dame Bay, in the

[2] 'Evangelical Magazine,' 1814, p. 75.

spring of 1799. The inhabitants of that place, through the influence of a godly man who had just passed away from their settlement, had, during the previous year, forwarded a request for the appointment of a missionary, through the Rev. John Jones, the Congregational minister of St. John's. Early in 1799, John Hillyard, a student at the academy of the Rev. Josiah Bull, Newport-Pagnel, was ordained, and sent out to the colony under the auspices of the Society, in the same vessel which carried James Bulpit to his appointed field on those, then, very distant shores. During the following autumn Hillyard wrote from Twillingate, 'The people in general behave very respectfully, and on the Sabbath their appearance is very devout and becoming. One of them, who is a son of the good man of whom Mr. Jones gave you an account, has built a small place in which we meet three times on the Lord's day, when there is nothing of that levity, either in dress or behaviour, which is so prevalent among professors of the gospel in many parts of England. I am sometimes almost ready to imagine myself among a company of primitive Christians, met for the worship of the Redeemer. Three persons have applied to me already, who seem under great concern of soul. They seem to have been under this concern for some time. I have begun with a meeting for prayer on the Sabbath morning, at half-past six, which is well attended, and we have a houseful of people every evening to unite with us in family prayer. We have two or three men with a gift in prayer by no means despicable, and I think it my duty to encourage them to exercise it as much as possible. I have begun to keep school and have about forty children to attend to.' Mr. Hillyard seems in the course of the next two or three years to have fixed his head-quarters in Conception Bay, whence he

made excursions into the northern parts of the island. Rutton Morris, another missionary sent out by the same Society, sailed in 1801, but was captured on the voyage by a French privateer. Having been recaptured by the boat of an English frigate, when on the point of being landed on the French coast, he reached Plymouth and soon sailed again for his destination.[3] The London Missionary Society, less tenacious in its occupancy of its few mission stations in the British North American provinces than some kindred Societies, only continued its efforts in Newfoundland during the earlier years of the century.

James Bulpit, who had reached Newfoundland in 1799, had the sole charge of the Methodist societies in the island, until 1804. Bulpit was a native of London, who after six years service as a local preacher had been ordained by Coke for the work in Newfoundland. His wife accompanied him to the colony against the wishes of her friends, some of whom in the disposition of their property gave her a practical proof of their displeasure. Bulpit fixed his head quarters at Carbonear, and thence visited other parts of the Bay. He soon became popular. His educational advantages had been small, but his natural gifts, wonderful memory, and agreeable manner, soon made him a favorite, even among some of the Roman Catholics, who testified their regard for him by many little deeds of kindness. On one occasion, one of them by whom he was known rescued him from a party of co-religionists, who, only aware of the fact that he was a Methodist minister, had shut him up in a smoke-house, where he must soon have lost his life. During the latter part of his residence in the island his labors were principally devoted to Carbonear

[3] 'Evangelical Magazine,' 1801.

and Blackhead. 'At each of these places,' he informed Dr. Coke during the summer of 1805, 'the people attend remarkably well, and I think there is a spark of grace in many, but, notwithstanding all my preaching and praying, 'it is not yet become a burning flame. My wife has been in the habit of teaching from twenty to thirty children to read, write and work, for near seven years past. I think you would be highly pleased to see the improvement the natives make in learning, and I hope it will be one great means of their receiving the gospel as they grow up.' In the course of the following year he returned to England.

Previously to Bulpit's departure John Remmington, an Irish missionary, reached the island. In 1790, Remmington had sought and obtained an assurance of the divine favor, and during subsequent years had given uniform evidence that his conversion was genuine. In 1802, he was received on trial by the Irish Conference, and sent as a missionary to the Coleraine circuit. Through Dr. Coke's influence he was appointed, at the Conference of 1804, to proceed to Newfoundland. In July, 1805, he wrote from Harbor Grace that he had been 'in perils among his own countrymen in these parts, more than once;' but that about ten who were earnestly seeking redemption had been added to the societies since his arrival. A greater cause of grief than the perils of which he speaks was the absence of such Christian friendship as the warm-hearted Irishman had been accustomed to enjoy in his native land.' 'I must forbear,' he wrote Coke, 'giving you a full account of all my sufferings since I arrived here; not for want of the things of this world: I have all I want, but as yet I have found none to whom I may unbosom myself, save Him that sticketh closer than a brother.'

The loneliness, of which the missionary at Harbor Grace complained, may suggest a question respecting a lay-laborer, who had for some time borne the burden and heat of the day. The little church, which Stretton had built just below his own residence on 'Stretton's Hill,' still remained; and humble worshippers still occupied the benches which served for seats, but Stretton himself had ceased to hold his former prominent position. The daily use of stimulants had led him, as it has led many strong men, to the brink of a precipice; and had caused the leader, whose utterances had served to guide men heavenward, to become a beacon to warn others of the dangers which beset the Christian's path. Happily, after a lengthened absence, he was enabled to return to the narrow path, and to testify of backslidings healed. Some years later than the period of which we write, friends bore his body from his house to the grave with songs of Christian triumph. His widow, whose maiden name was Mary Parsons, survived him a number of years. A few yet remain who bear witness from personal knowledge to the intelligent and consistent Christian life of Mrs. Stretton. Her attention to reading, her fondness for Wesley's Christian Library, and her admiration for Young's 'Night Thoughts,' were well-known to her friends. Hence, her conversation was so intelligent, and at the same time so spiritual, that while strangers who called upon her frequently listened with a pleasure which was wholly intellectual, she was looked up to, by the young Christian, as a 'mother in Israel.'

At Grates Cove, a few miles from Old Perlican, Remmington found John Hoskins, Jr. In 1790, four families from Lower Island Cove and one from Old Perlican settled there. A few years later they were

joined by others from the former place. In 1792, the younger Hoskins went there as teacher, and in 1801, he became the class leader of the settlement. A stone erected at the head of his grave tells the visitor that he 'for thirty-six years discharged the duties of pastor and teacher' in that place; and 'surrendered his soul to God on the 28th day of January, 1828, in the seventieth year of his age.' Remmington, as Thoresby had done in 1795, visited the members at this, and the neighboring harbors, and exhorted them to cleave unto the Lord.

During the two years subsequent to the departure of Bulpit, Remmington was the only Methodist itinerant in the colony. So early as 1805, he had been encouraged to look for the arrival of others, but had waited in vain. In the spring of 1808, he sailed for England, and returning, landed at Harbor Grace late in November, with William Ellis and Samuel McDowell. The three had been providentially prevented from taking an earlier passage in another vessel, which sailed from London, but never reached her destination in Newfoundland.

Remmington's associates were countrymen of his own. Both had been converted in youth, and had reached an age when wisdom of judgment and vigor of physical system may be supposed to be happily combined. McDowell was a native of Dromore. While yet a youth he had been appointed a class-leader and local preacher, and as such had been actively employed for several years previously to his appointment to Newfoundland. Ellis, who was a native of the North of Ireland, had entered upon the Christian life at the age of sixteen. His attachment to Protestantism was strengthened by some fearful scenes of which he was an eye-witness, during the Irish rebellion of 1798. While his parents, with all their family, were concealing themselves

during the battle of Ballynahinch, through the cry of one of the children their hiding-place was revealed to the rebels, by whom, but for the timely arrival of troops, they would have been slain. Less gifted than his excellent fellow-missionary, McDowell, and therefore less popular as a preacher than he, William Ellis, through the gentle, loving, earnest manner in which he prosecuted his Master's work, won a good report and many souls for his Lord, in the colony which became his adopted home.

The efforts of the three brethren were blessed with a good measure of success. Before a year had elapsed, they were able to report an addition to the societies of more than sixty members. Remmington, by Dr. Coke's request, went northward to Bonavista, during the summer of 1809, to make inquiries about the Indians of the island. On his return to St. John's, he informed the Doctor that he had met no Indians there,' but had found at Bonavista 'a people prepared for the Gospel, who entreated him to do what he could to procure them a preacher to reside among them, having already subscribed liberally towards his support.' The wishes of the inhabitants of Bonavista were also earnestly presented in a letter to Dr. Coke, by John Bland, Esq., the chief magistrate of the place. That gentleman, though said by some to be inclined to scepticism, had not forgotten the illness of George Smith, or lost sight of his self-denying labors in that settlement, though more than ten years had passed since the return of that minister to England. 'Mr. Smith, or such a man as Mr. Smith,' he wrote, 'would find a very cordial reception from the inhabitants of this bay. Much must depend upon the character of the man sent. We want in this place a man of simple manners, who will

speak to the people in plain language, and appear in good earnest.' In response to this appeal, William Ward, a young man just received on trial for the ministry, was ordered by the English Conference of 1810, to sail for Bonavista.[4]

Remmington returned to his native land before the Conference of 1810, at which he received an appointment to Tanderagee. His brethren speak of him as a man of 'unquestionable piety, uprightness and simplicity,' who 'enjoyed uninterrupted communion with God.' 'He extended our missions,' says Wilson, 'to the harbor of Trinity, where for many years his name was a household word, and in the hearts of all those who knew him his memory was imperishable. No man ever left the shores of Newfoundland more deeply regretted than

[4] Dr. Coke was very careful about the health of his missionaries. In an explanatory note appended to his first report of receipts and disbursements, published in 1794, he says, 'Umbrellas may be esteemed highly luxurious in this country, but are highly necessary for Europeans, under the torrid zone. We should not study the health of the missionaries, if we did not allow each an umbrella.' A letter given by Etheridge in his 'Life of Coke' shows that the Doctor was equally thoughtful about the safety of those who through his influence were sent to more northern climates. 'I request,' he wrote from Bolton, 'that the Committee will provide brother Ward with a large quantity of flannel and fleece hosiery. If we do not, we may be, unintentionally, the cause of his death; for he is going to a part of Newfoundland which is most exquisitely cold. Be pleased also, dear friend, to let him have very warm stockings and very warm clothes of every kind. He is desirous of having a complete set of my Commentary. I feel a delicacy in recommending it in general; but as he has repeatedly mentioned it to me, I beg that he may have it.

'If you send a very large roll of flannel as a present to the three other preachers, you will do very well; and if you add a piece of warm broadcloth, sufficient to make each of them a suit of clothes you will do well. . . . I'll not slacken my hand in begging. . . . Let us go on, and God will bless and protect us. The brethren referred to returned thanks in the autumn for these articles, received at a time when they 'much wanted them.' It should be remembered that no stated allowance had then been made to the missionaries in Newfoundland, who were largely dependent upon the good-will of those among whom they labored.

John Remmington. He sailed from Trinity at midnight, and that evening was a sorrowful vigil to his friends.' In 1834 he became a supernumerary. In his last illness he suffered much, but was patient and resigned to the divine will. His sorrowing wife said to him, a little before death, 'you will soon have the victory.' He replied, 'I have the victory.' She asked, 'Is the Saviour precious?' 'Yes,' said he, 'very, very precious.' His last words were 'Farewell—all is well.' He died in November, 1838, aged sixty-six years.

Ward continued at Bonavista until 1812, when he was drowned, with all the crew of a fishing-boat, in which he taken passage from Bonavista to St. John's. Ellis and McDowell remained at Carbonear. Thence they visited several harbors in Conception Bay, and crossed the country to Old Perlican and the adjacent settlements. The length of their circuit was seventy miles; and within this distance were seven churches. Through Ellis's exertions a church was erected at Grates Cove, on land given for the purpose, in 1809, by Thomas Cooper, in whose dwelling religious services had been frequently held. Ellis preached the first sermon in the new church. Two others were commenced, in 1811; one at Ochre-Pit Cove; and the other at Western Bay, where sixty men assembled, brought with them six horses, and in three days cut, and drew from the woods, sufficient timber for the frame of the building. Throughout the circuit prejudices gave way, and the zealous workers reported with pleasure that many, who had formerly refused to listen to them, had become 'stated hearers.' In the summer of 1810, the ministers commenced a small Sunday-school at Carbonear. 'With these children,' they wrote, 'we generally spend half an hour before we go to public worship. These that can

read we catechise, and those who cannot, we speak to in a familiar way, according to their capacity for receiving instruction. When our labors will not admit of our meeting them, we have a pious young man, who acts for us.'

During the winter of 1810-11, a number were added to the membership in several places. The most extensive revival was that which took place under the ministry of McDowell, at Island Cove. 'On the 21st of January last,' he informed the Missionary Committee, 'I left Carbonear, to visit the different classes in Conception Bay; and He that said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," deigned to journey with me. On my arrival at Blackhead, I found the classes in a prosperous state, and the people in general athirst for the word; during my stay there several joined in class, who seemed to be awakened. From thence I proceeded to Island Cove, and shortly after my arrival I found such droppings as portended a glorious shower. I staid a few days, and administered the Lord's Supper, and then proceeded on my way; but He who has His way in the whirlwind, and His paths in the great deep, saw meet to counteract my designs. On Saturday evening, going to a friend's house, I had a small river to cross; the ice broke, and I cut my leg, so that I was unable to travel for a fortnight. However, I was able to stand and preach. The next day, while I was distributing the emblems of the broken body and shed blood of the Lord Jesus, every heart seemed to be broken, so that all joined in saying, "Lord, it is good to be here." I continued to preach every evening during my stay here, and great was the Holy One of Israel in the midst of us. Sometimes I could not be heard to speak, for the cries of guilty sinners supplicating for mercy, while

others seemed inattentive to everything but praising and adoring that God who brought them out of darkness into His marvellous light, so that I could only stand and look on, exclaiming, 'Lord, this is thy doing and it is marvellous in my eyes. This was the happiest season I ever spent in Newfoundland.' Seventeen members were added to the class during this visit from McDowell, and five others during a subsequent visit from Ellis, who left sixty persons in the society at Island Cove.

The missionaries, then in Newfoundland make frequent mention of a magistrate of Carbonear, who rendered them willing and valuable assistance. John Gosse, Esq., at that time a member of the firm of 'Ledgard and Gosse,' of Poole, had removed from England to Carbonear as early as 1788. His acquaintance with Black, during the visit of the latter to Conception Bay, in the summer of 1791; and his marriage with a Miss Pike, a member of a family early identified with Methodism in Carbonear, had placed him under influences of a salutary character. 'I assure you,' he wrote to an English missionary, 'I am a sincere well-wisher to the cause of Methodism, knowing it to be the cause of God. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to be an humble instrument of good to the Society.' Mr. Gosse's practical evidences of interest in their work were highly appreciated by the two brethren in Newfoundland. 'We have found him,' said McDowell to the Missionary Committee, 'a warm and steady friend; he exerts his influence in support of us and the cause in which we are embarked, while his life and conversation evince that he is a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ.'

In April, 1812, a vessel reached St. John's, on board of which were two Methodist missionaries bound to Nova Scotia. One of these was

Richard Taylor, well advanced in years, and married, through just received on trial for the ministry; the other was William Croscombe, a minister of exceedingly youthful appearance, who had 'travelled,' one year in the Shepton-Mallet circuit, in Somersetshire. The 'Diadem,' with Mr. and Mrs. Taylor on board, had sailed from the Isle of Wight during the previous autumn, but when midway across the ocean had encountered heavy gales, which drove her back to Ireland, where she wintered. After sixteen days in the ice, when she sustained such damage as to render the passengers very anxious, she reached the shore. At St. John's they received the most generous treatment' from the ministers and members of 'an excellent society of Independents.' As soon as possible, they sailed in another vessel for Halifax, but after tossing about on the coast for two days, were obliged by the ice to put back to St. John's. There they received a pressing letter from McDowell, who had heard of their arrival, asking one of them to remain, and informing them that he had received permission from Mr. Benson to make the request. After consultation Richard Taylor went to Carbonear where he acted in the double capacity of preacher and teacher, assisted in the duties of the latter position by his wife.

Late in December, 1812, John Gosse, Esq., reported the missionaries all in good health, and indefatigable in their Master's work. 'Their conduct,' he added, 'is such as becomes the cause they are engaged in, and they are much beloved and respected by the people amongst whom they labor; and though there is not such an addition to the society as may have been expected, yet I know that much good is done among the inhabitants. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor keep a school here and are very useful in instructing the children.'

During the four months which elapsed before the close of the Conference year 1812-13, a sad change took place through the fall, by intemperance, of Richard Taylor; and through the temporary prejudice excited against his former colleagues by the manner in which he treated them. Three hundred and forty members were reported from Newfoundland in the minutes of 1813.

CHAPTER XIV.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1800 TO THE CONFERENCE OF 1805.

Difficulties of the Itinerancy in the Provinces. Unfavorable influences. Black's return with recruits. William Bennett. Joshua Marsden. James Lowry. Coke's offer to Lorenzo Dow. False impressions concerning the Provinces. Sailing of the Missionaries. Incidents of the voyage. Arrival at Halifax. Departure for their circuits. Conference of 1801. Location of Wilson. Financial changes. Provision for ministers' wives. Statistics. Marsden at Cumberland. His visit to Wallace. Marsden at Halifax. Visit to prisoners. Erection of church at St. David's, N.B. Secession in Halifax. Conference of 1802. Black's intended removal to England. Resignation of Superintendency. Lowry's return to Britain. Ordination of several preachers in the United States. Marsden at Annapolis, St. John, and Sheffield. Sketch of Stephen Bamford. Conference of 1803. Better financial provision. Isaac Clark. Revival at Sheffield. Sunday-school at Liverpool. Leading Methodists of Annapolis county. Conversion of Colonel Bayard. His treatment by former friends. His character. Coke's request to Black concerning Bermuda. Conference of 1804. Conference collection. Olivant's suspension. Subsequent history. Black's return. Reports from different fields. Arrival of William Sutcliffe. Appointment of Robert Shipley.

The population of the Lower Provinces at the beginning of the century may be estimated at eighty thousand persons, of whom at least three-fourths were Protestants. Many of these were seldom visited by an evangelical ministry. There were few towns; the larger number of the inhabitants dwelt in scattered settlements on the shores of the Atlantic, the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy; or, in the interior, by the sides of rivers and lakes. The navigation of the Bay of Fundy, by which Nova Scotia is nearly separated from New Brunswick, was then regarded as exceedingly dangerous, while the Straits of Northumberland rendered communication between these provinces and Prince Edward Is-

land irregular in summer and impossible in winter. In the different provinces, settlement was separated from settlement by bays or rivers, and by thick forests; or united only by roads of a very primitive character. An itinerant, who commenced his provincial wanderings in 1800, remarks that 'the difficulties of a new country thinly settled and covered with vast forests, lakes, rivers, bays and inlets of the sea cannot easily be comprehended. There are many settlers who are so deep in the recesses of the wilderness that they need a distinct journey to come at their habitation. There are others along the intervale of unfrequented rivers, whom you can only visit by boat excursions, and then only in the summer; in the winter the ice affords a solid bridge; still, however, they are difficult of access.' [1]

There was much in the religious state of the Lower Provinces at that time to awaken the sympathies and to stimulate the energies of all earnest Christian men. The disadvantages of the inhabitants of the more isolated settlements were very evident. Their general poverty, and their long distance from churches and schools, were productive of unfortunate results. Too frequently under such circumstances, the lamentations at first uttered gradually cease to be heard; those who most need religious ordinances learn to desire them least; total estrangement from God follows; and though from their situation crimes against society are few, their hearts are estranged from true piety and virtue. The spiritual dangers of the inhabitants of the provincial towns were not less evident. It was not possible that the British American colonies, though so distant from Europe, could remain wholly free from those influences which were then proving so injurious to society in Europe.

[1] Marsden's 'Narrative of a Mission,' p. 59.

Many of the men, or the writings of the men, who openly avowed themselves unbelievers in Christianity, found their way to the colonies. Volney, Paine, Voltaire, Hume and Gibbon were favorite authors in England. Through the arrival of government officials, who were nearly all sent out from Britain,—sometimes, perhaps, more for the purpose of providing a living for some needy relative of a minister, or an impatient hanger-on, than out of any regard for fitness for office,—a constant renewal of the element of scepticism was maintained. 'It was thought not only manly but fashionable to deny the truth of Christianity. Questions of doctrine were freely discussed, but infidel authors were the grammar and the text-book. Their axioms and opinions were quoted glibly at the dinner-table, and at those evening feasts which were the custom of the times. The great topic was not in the back-ground, but brought to the fore, only, however, as an object of assault.' [2]

In the early autumn of 1800, only five Methodist laborers were found in the Lower Provinces. These during the previous year had sought to render themselves as ubiquitous as possible. Later in the autumn, Black arrived from England. He had attended the Conference held during the summer in London, under the presidency of James Wood; and had succeeded, with the cordial assistance of Dr. Coke, in obtaining the appointment of four missionaries to the field under his charge. These were James Lowry, William Bennett, Joshua Marsden, and Thomas Olivant, all young men, just putting on the harness, except Lowry, who had travelled one year.

William Bennett, born in 1770, became a member of

[2] Rev. G. W. Hill, in 'Memoir of Sir Brenton Haliburton, p. 69.

the Methodist church in Manchester, in his twenty-fourth year. Two years later he was appointed leader of a class in that town, and in June, 1797, his name was placed on the local preacher's plan. In a 'Society for the Acquirement of Religious Knowledge,' consisting of young men belonging to the Methodist society in Manchester, he was associated, among others, with James Wood and John Marsden, afterwards influential Methodist laymen; with Jabez Bunting, at a later period, one of the master-minds of the English Conference; and with Edward Jones, 'almost forty years a minister, and one of the principal founders of Methodism in North Wales.'[3] William Bennett, whose name stood on the same circuit plan with that of Jabez Bunting, entered the ministry a year later than he. On the 19th of August, immediately after the close of the Conference, Bennett left his friends at Manchester and set out for Liverpool to meet Black.

Joshua Marsden, who afterward won for himself 'a good degree' in the mission field, was born at Warrington, in 1777. Though favored with the 'instructions, example and prayers' of a pious mother, the natural enmity of his heart discovered itself at an early period, in acts of 'open rebellion' against God. At length, while attending a Methodist church in Manchester, he was deeply convinced of sin. After a severe struggle, he yielded himself up to God, and through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ received the Spirit of adoption. Believing himself called to labor in the foreign department of the work, he besought the Lord to open a door through which he might enter upon the life of a missionary. When Black arrived from Nova Scotia, Marsden therefore volunteered to accompany him on his

[3] 'Life of Jabez Bunting, D. D.', p. 62.

return, though his mission involved separation from a widowed mother, of whom he was the only son, and through whose earnest prayers he believed himself to have been led to God. Of Thomas Olivant's earlier life but little is known. James Lowry, the fourth member of the little band which accompanied Black, was a young Irishman of good reasoning powers, but rough in manner, and said to be moral, rather than evangelical in his preaching. He had spent one year on the Ballyconnel circuit in Ireland.

Coke, during that summer, sought to enlist the services of another for the provincial work. In Dublin, on the 15th of July, he met the eccentric Lorenzo Dow. Dow had entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1798, and in 1799 had been appointed to the Essex circuit in Vermont, but had left it for Europe, under the impression that he had a special mission to Ireland. Coke, on meeting him in Dublin, asked him to go out as a missionary, either to Halifax or Quebec, and promised him, on condition of compliance with the directions given him for six years, that his expenses should be paid, and that he should want nothing during that period in the way of books or clothing. Dow took twenty-four hours to consider the proposal, and then returned an answer in the negative; as 'in tender conscience' he 'durst not leave the kingdom yet, believing it to be the will of God that he should stay.' The Doctor is said to have replied, 'I don't know but your travelling about may do more harm than the conversion of five hundred souls may do good.' Dow, in reference to the interview, writes: 'My tears flowed plentifully and it seemed as if my eyes were a fountain of tears. The Doctor grasped me in his arms, gave me a hug and went his way.' The long-bearded,

long-haired itinerant also went his way, and in an independent position, adhering meanwhile to Methodist doctrines, continued to travel and preach until his death at Georgetown, D. C., in 1834. His labors were not in vain. Wherever he remained sufficiently long to be known, the prejudices at first awakened by his characteristic oddities gave way to genuine appreciation, and to recognition of him as a man of God.

Black and his fellow-travellers met at Liverpool. Dr. Coke intended to ordain the young missionaries before their departure, but was unable to reach Liverpool before the sailing of their vessel. Many fervent prayers were offered in their behalf in the Methodist churches in Liverpool and its vicinity. Misled, it may be, by the unfortunate allusion in the hymn-book to the 'dark Americans,' or influenced by ignorance more pardonable in them than in those on the other side of the Atlantic, who at the present day know less of the Lower Provinces than of the country watered by the Nile or Zambesi, some pious brethren were heard to pray that the missionaries about to leave their shores might be rendered useful to the 'poor savages.'

On the 24th of August, Black and his companions went on board ship for Halifax. The 'Sparrow' proving to be a leaky little vessel, the ominous sound of the pumps was soon and often heard. Marsden, more accustomed to the sea than his brethren, had for a time the pleasure of ministering to their wants. The society of the passengers was not of the most genial character. The ministers had, however, before their departure obtained a promise from the captain that they should have the use of the cabin for morning and evening prayer. At these seasons, and in the state-room allotted to Black, their souls often 'took hold of God.' The danger of a

a visit at any hour from a national vessel, or privateer, belonging to the enemy, made the captain anxious to make the best possible disposition of his passengers and crew, for purposes of defence. As the twelve guns required the attention of the whole crew, the missionaries, with Black at their head, were equipped as marines. In consequence of Marsden's scruples about the use of arms, the captain placed him at one of the twelve guns—a distinction which scarcely 'satisfied' his conscience, though he 'consented to the change.' Happily, the fighting qualities of the passengers and crew were not put to the test. On one occasion, when chased by a French privateer, Black and his marines prepared to give them a warm reception, but, while preparations were being made to welcome the privateer, the latter, fearing the presence of the two vessels—for another was in company—gave her canvas to the winds and sailed away. At the end of a somewhat rough and tedious voyage of six weeks they entered Halifax harbor on the evening of Sunday, the 4th of October, all in good health, with the exception of Bennett, who had been 'indisposed' throughout the voyage.

A cordial and truly Christian reception was given them in Halifax. They remained there a few days, and then left for the circuits through which they were to travel. Lowry and Marsden spent a short time at Windsor, where they preached several times. Lowry then sailed for St. John, while Marsden followed the usual route to Cumberland. Bennett sailed in Robert Barry's schooner 'Polly,' the 'mission-ship' of the southern coast; and Olivant soon after reached his station at Liverpool.

The Conference of 1801 was commenced at Annapolis, on Friday, the 12th of June. Black was President, and

Bennett, Secretary. Benjamin Wilson, who had never been advanced beyond the order of 'deacon,' had, during the year, ceased to travel. He entered into business at Dorchester, but continued to preach in a local capacity. Several years later, while sailing from Buctouche to Bathurst, he was lost in a storm. Permission was given Lowry to visit the United States, for the purpose of receiving ordination from the American Bishops. The allowances hitherto made to the preachers having been found too small, in view 'of the advanced prices of all articles of clothing,' the stewards were requested to pay each of the preachers twenty-five pounds per annum. Two preachers' wives were to be provided for. The sum allowed these,—equal in amount to that of their husbands,—was in one case provided by the Halifax circuit, in the other by an almost equal tax on the Annapolis, St. John, Cumberland and Liverpool circuits. The statistics of the first Provincial Conference of the century are worthy of record for the sake of future comparison. One hundred and sixty members were returned from the Halifax circuit; 120 from Annapolis; 94 from Liverpool; 90 from Cumberland; 102 from Shelburne; 75 from Newport; 113 from St. John; 80 from St. Stephen; 20 from Sambro; and 20 from Prince Edward Island; making a total of 874 members in the Lower Provinces. The distinctive terms of 'elder' and 'deacon,' peculiar to American Methodism, but previously used in the Provincial Minutes, now cease to appear.

Marsden, stationed at Cumberland, in 1800-1-2, found himself happy in the society of some Yorkshire Methodists who had brought their religion across the Atlantic; and of some of their children, who had found Christ in the adopted home of their fathers. Upon recovery from a severe illness, which continued during the greater

part of the winter of 1800-1, he accompanied John Black to Wallace, finding his way through forty or fifty miles of wilderness by the help of blazed trees. The scenery of the country, early in March, seemed to him 'dreary, wild and revolting to the senses;' but his surroundings were forgotten, as he found at the termination of his journey 'a people prepared of the Lord, hungering and thirsting for the bread and water of immortal life.' No itinerant had visited them for several years, yet, 'strangely preserved,' between forty and fifty of them had continued to meet at stated seasons. A deep interest was at once awakened by Marsden's arrival. To the young Englishman the scene was strange. 'An hour or two before the service,' says Marsden, 'all seemed silent as death, and dreary as desolation itself. Nothing could be seen on the one hand but a landscape of ice, and the dreary Gulf stretching its rifted masses to an extent of twenty miles from the shore; while on the land side were a few log houses thinly sprinkled along the dark and impenetrable woods which skirted the icy bays;' but as the time of preaching drew near, the people were seen coming in groups from all quarters; some in sleds, some on horseback, some skating and others on foot, and the French settlers in their carioles. It was not uncommon for some to come ten, twenty, and even thirty miles to hear preaching.' Two sermons, with an intermission only long enough to allow of refreshment and brief conversation, were listened to, and their homes reached, when possible, before the darkness closed in. During this visit, Marsden preached on both sides of the bay and river, and also at Malagash. From the latter place, accompanied by twenty or thirty persons in sleds, he crossed the bay to preach to the descendants of the Huguenots, at Tatamagouche. When the party were within a mile of the shore at the latter

place, one of the horses became unmanageable, and a general panic ensued. Marsden and a number of others threw themselves out on the ice, while the horses, as though mad, galloped towards the woods. At the service which followed this wild scene, 'the divine influence was powerfully present.' This visit of Marsden and Black was long remembered at Wallace and the neighboring settlements. The subsequent visits of John Black, which were highly prized, contributed much to the marked stability of Methodism in that part of Nova Scotia.

Part of the summer of 1801 was spent by Marsden at Halifax, while Black visited Cumberland. In Halifax he preached to large and attentive congregations. He also visited several military prisoners, under sentence of death for desertion and attack upon their pursuers. On his first visit to these unfortunate men, he observed in the hands of one a printed paper. On examination he found it to be a form of prayer, in which, after due deprecation of the divine displeasure, the author had inserted this unguarded petition: 'Lord, give us penitential sorrow, that by the tears we shed we may atone for the crimes we have committed.' The grievous character of the teaching to which the poor fellows were exposed led him earnestly to set forth to them Jesus, as the sinner's Friend and Saviour. After several visits, in which a few friends accompanied him, he had the satisfaction of finding that two of them were, to all appearance, willing to be saved by grace, through faith. During the night preceding the execution he sat up with them, and in the morning accompanied them to the place of death, when he knelt with them in prayer, and then took his leave. One was pardoned; the others were sent into the presence of their Maker. In the evening he preached

a sermon on the case of the dying thief. On his way back to Cumberland, he 'stopped at Parrsboro', to spend a few days with two amiable families, Squire Ratchford's and Mr. Shannon's.' In the autumn, accompanied by Charles Dixon and another friend, he visited the settlers on the Peticodiac river. 'For temporary privations' they were recompensed 'by times of refreshing, while worshipping in the tall forests.' On the 9th of May, Marsden preached his farewell sermon at the 'Stone House,' and left Point de Bute on the following morning, to meet his brethren at the Conference.

Some details of interest respecting the labors of the other itinerants have been preserved. At St. David's, in the spring of 1801, the members of the society, with the promise of assistance from several others, resolved to build a church. Some opposition was offered, but two acres of land for a church and burial ground were procured, and sufficient labor expended on the church to make it suitable for services in the summer season. Under the earnest and acceptable labors of Cooper at Shelburne, and Bennett at Liverpool, between whom frequent exchanges were made, the work on the southern coast assumed a promising aspect.

In Halifax, a secession from the church threatened much evil. The ostensible cause, so far as can be ascertained, was the long continued residence of Black at Halifax. At the head of the seceders, among whom were several prominent members of the church, was Thomas Cowdell, a local preacher and trustee. Some yet live who remember this grotesque-looking man, whose broad shoulders and short legs made him a frequent subject of remark. He was noted for his fine bass voice, and his skill in playing the bass-viol, and was always in request for public concerts. His poetic talent, which is said to

have been of a respectable order, was frequently called into exercise at the solicitation of friends, or for special religious occasions. A number of his fugitive pieces were published by himself in a volume entitled the 'Nova Scotia Minstrel.' The services held at Cowdell's house did not continue long. Several persons, who had placed their names upon a paper which had caused much confusion, withdrew their signatures. Cowdell, however, waxed worse and worse, becoming a prey to intemperate habits, which brought him to thorough degradation. After spending some time in Europe he returned to Halifax, where he died. 'I weep, because I cannot weep,' was his ambiguous remark to a Methodist minister who visited him during his last illness. There was hope in his death.

The Conference of 1802 was held at Annapolis. Its sessions were commenced on the 20th of May. The principal topic of conversation was the purpose of Black to leave the province for England. He had for some years cherished an earnest desire to spend the evening of life in his native land, but communion with kindred spirits, during his late visit to England, had invested that country with a new attraction, Coke, who knew well the importance of Black's presence in the Provinces, at a time when the harvest was great and the laborers few, resisted his efforts for transfer to the English work, and finally, growing warm, addressed him on the subject in the strongest Saxon-English at his command. 'What will you do on a circuit in England?' wrote Coke, in 1801. 'They don't want you. Give up your great sphere of action, in which God has, by a series of miracles, placed you, if you dare. Mind, you will repent of it but once, if you retain the life of God.' Black's lay friends in Halifax took a similar view. 'I think,' said one of the

wiser of them, his 'removal will ultimately give a fatal stab to the itinerancy in the Provinces, for there is no probability that any other man will use the same means to keep up the supply of preachers, and were they to use the same means they could not effect it.' In view of recent events, which had stimulated the wish for removal on the part of Black, the official members at Halifax addressed an earnest memorial to the ministers assembled at Annapolis, asking them to solicit him to 'remain with his family at Halifax, in his present capacity, for another year at least, and for any longer period that he may be induced to labor in the country.' This request was endorsed by the Conference; but, as Black only gave a conditional assent, they appointed James Mann to be Superintendent, in the event of his removal to England, in the course of the year. Previously to the next Conference, Black resigned his charge into the hands of James Mann, and made application to Bishop Asbury for a station for one year in Boston, on his way to England; but reasons, of the nature of which we are not informed, led him to abandon his long cherished purpose and remain in Nova Scotia.

Lowry, on account of health, left the Conference for the United States. He soon returned to England, and after a somewhat irregular course, withdrew, in 1812, from the Connexion. The brethren, Cooper, Bennett, Marsden and Olivant, were recommended to proceed to the United States for ordination. They accordingly sailed from Digby, immediately after the close of the Conference, and after a passage of six days reached New York, where they met with a cordial reception from Asbury and Whatcoat, Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By these, according to the usage of that Church, they were ordained 'deacons' on the 1st of

June, and 'elders' on the following day. At the Conference, they met with delegates from Canada and the 'Far-West,' some of whom had travelled on the saddle more than a thousand miles, to meet their brethren. From these they learned, as they listened to the recital of their labors, that there were places more forbidding to flesh and blood than Nova Scotia. On their return, Bennett and Marsden went on shore at Digby, hoping for an opportunity to preach, but none presented itself. Bennett had been appointed to Cumberland, and Marsden to Annapolis for three months, and for the rest of the year, to St. John. At Granville and the Waldeck settlement, the congregations were so large that Marsden preached and administered the Lord's Supper 'in the woods.' At St. John he found 'a lively and united little church.' In dining from house to house, among the members of the church, as was the custom of the itinerants in St. John at that day, he became well acquainted with his flock. A number of pious colored people gave him much encouragement. As soon as the ice permitted he went up the river, and reached Sheffield after a dangerous drive through a blinding snowstorm. He preached on both sides of the river, and received a warm welcome, not only from the Methodists, but also from the Congregationalists, who invited him to preach in their church, which had previously been removed from Maugerville to Sheffield, on the ice.

On Sunday, the 1st of September, 1802, two transports from Plymouth, with the larger part of His Majesty's 29th, or Worcestershire regiment, entered Halifax harbor; and on the afternoon of the following day, the troops, called by a journal of that day, a 'fine body of young men,' landed at the King's wharf, and marched to the barracks. Through one of these, whose

soldierly bearing continued to be as marked under ministerial garb as it had ever been on military parade, the arrival of that regiment has an intimate connection with the Methodism of the Lower Provinces. The young man in question carried in his knapsack a note from Samuel Bradburn, then stationed at Plymouth, which ensured him an immediate welcome from the Methodists of Halifax, and a place in the pulpit of their church. The name of Stephen Bamford, whom Bradburn thus introduced, is yet remembered by many in the Provinces with a regard approaching to veneration. He was born near Nottingham, in the year 1770. Of his earlier history little is known, save that he rebelled against the hardships and privations of apprenticeship to a manufacturer in his own neighborhood, left his master, and, after wandering for a time, enlisted in the 29th regiment. In 1793, he served under the Duke of York in Holland. The 29th regiment formed a part of the force engaged in the 'Walcheren expedition.' At the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom he received a severe wound. To use his own words, 'a great coward threw down his musket and ran away,' on which he immediately caught up the loaded piece, and, approaching the breastwork of the enemy, fired it, receiving in return a shot in the breast, which nearly cost him his life. At the close of the German campaign the regiment embarked for the West Indies. In one of the famous naval engagements of that period the corps to which he belonged acted as marines. He was afterwards called to take part in quelling the Irish rebellion of 1798, a difficult and harassing service, during which his regiment, in one memorable instance, saved the lives of many Protestants, and effectually repulsed the cruel rebel leaders. Through his passionate fondness for music, he was in time introduced into the band of the regiment as a player on the bassoon.

The particulars of his earlier religious career, as furnished from a variety of sources, are fragmentary and somewhat conflicting. It appears that, during his confinement in an English hospital, in consequence of the wound received in Holland, he became a 'new creature' in Christ Jesus. The decision which marked his career throughout life was at once manifested by his engagement in a prayer-meeting with several military friends, in a room hired for the purpose. In Ireland he met with the Methodists, whose zeal inspired him with new energy. To them he said, 'I will go with you, for God is with you.' His marriage, in 1799, with a 'truly excellent woman,' whose life adorned her profession, strengthened him while contending against the many temptations incident to a military life. He is said to have been first placed on the local preacher's 'plan' by Bradburn, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth had previously spoken, with results to be calculated only in eternity. His utterances, both in public and private, had been accompanied by the power of the Spirit. While taking shelter one day from a heavy shower he was joined by the drum-major of his regiment, to whom he told the story of his happiness with such effect as to lead him to the Saviour, through whose death he himself had obtained it. An officer in the regiment to which he belonged was one of the first-fruits of Bamford's local ministry. During a visit to England, in 1839, he spent a few weeks in Guernsey, with William Burt, whose father had taken him when a boy to hear 'the soldier' preach, and with whom he had spent pleasant days in the mission field of the Lower Provinces. On one occasion the friends walked up to the fort in company. 'Here,' says Burt, I perceived him to be in deep thought and in tears. The deeply-interest-

ing explanation was not long withheld. He stated that soon after he began his religious course his regiment was stationed in that very garrison. He pointed with his finger to the room in which he had lived, when he had to suffer much persecution for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. "In that square," said he, "I was arraigned for preaching the Gospel to the soldiers. No one stood by me but an officer, one of my first converts, and afterwards one of the Knights of Windsor.[4] I went to see him there when I was last in England, and found him laden with years and infirmities, so that I should not have known him. All recollection of my face had passed, and he had no thought of ever meeting me again in this world. I said, "I am Stephen Bamford." The old man immediately burst into tears, fell on my neck and exclaimed, "My dear Mr. Bamford, you are the greatest friend I have in the world; for you were the instrument of my salvation." '[5]

Before his departure with the regiment for Nova Scotia, Bamford's efforts for the conversion of his comrades, with his integrity and perseverance in well-doing, had secured for him the favor of many of his companions in arms. He was careful to avoid that delay in presenting his letter of introduction, which has cost some the loss of precious years; and as soon as possible, left the barracks, called upon the minister in charge, and

[4] 'The "Military Knights of Windsor" derive their origin from Edward III. Ashmole, the historian of the Order of the Garter, says, "the evident intention of the Royal Founder was to provide for such military men or old soldiers, as had served him bravely and faithfully during his wars, as a remuneration for their past services, by providing them with an asylum in their declining years." They consist of a Governor and seventeen Knights, who are for the most part veterans, or on half-pay.' *Collier's Guide to Windsor*, p. 44.

[5] Rev. Wm. Burt, in 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' 1851, p. 839.

preached, it is said, on the evening after his arrival, to a congregation gathered within the walls of 'Old Zoar.' As far as his military duties would permit, he continued his zealous labors, and soon became in the best sense popular.

At the Conference of 1803, which was commenced at Windsor, on Tuesday the 11th of May, under the presidency of Black, the most important transaction, beyond the ordinary routine of business, was the adoption of a minute relative to a better provision for the support of the ministry. 'Some of the principal friends in the different circuits,' it was said, 'have expressed much concern lest the present inadequate provision for a married ministry should operate as a discouragement to the preachers, inducing them either to locate, or remove from this part of the Connexion. What remedy is proposed for the removal of this evil? 'The Conference,' it was answered, 'adopt the measures recommended by some of the stewards; viz, that an annual subscription should be made among our principal friends, after the manner of the Methodist Societies in England; and that the proceeds shall be brought to the Conference, and lodged in the hands of the trustees appointed for this purpose; the allowance out of this fund to be regulated by the vote of the Conference.' The trustees appointed in accordance with this minute were Messrs. Alexander Anderson, Borrows Davies and Samuel Sellon, all of Halifax.

Some sheaves were gathered about this period. Bennett, stationed in St. John, spent a part of the winter in the up-river districts. At Fredericton, the union of Isaac Clark with the small Methodist society in that place greatly cheered the heart of Duncan Blair. Mr. Clark, a few years later appointed a leader, maintained his

position to the day of his death, in 1851, as an 'upright, sober-minded and conscientious member,' deeply interested in the welfare of that branch of the Church, with which he, at the beginning of the century, had connected himself. Through the labors of Bennett an unsually deep interest in religion was awakened in the minds of the people of Sheffield and the adjoining settlements. 'Some were awakened, and several were truly converted to God.' 'A few of these,' said James Mann, who before the close of the year visited that part of New Brunswick, 'had been so prejudiced against us, that, to use their own expression, they could hardly submit to be brought to Christ by means of a Methodist preacher; but now they rejoice that God ever inclined their hearts to attend upon our ministry.' Among those at Sheffield to whom the Spirit rendered the ministry of Bennett a blessing, was a young woman, who desired to attend a sacramental service, held by that minister previously to his return to St. John, but who hesitated, through fear of the opposition of her father, who was a Congregationalist. On the Sabbath morning, after special prayer, she met her father, who, without any request on her part, gladdened her by the remark, 'If you wish to attend the sacramental service you can.' In the pathway thus opened by Providence she continued to walk. As the wife of Thomas Pickard, she removed to a settlement above Fredericton, and thence, in 1803, into that town, where she, and, afterwards, her husband, chiefly through her influence, became valuable members of the small Methodist church in that place. Two sons, one of whom is Humphrey Pickard, D. D., of the New Brunswick Conference, have given the family name a more than local prominence. In Halifax, large and attentive congregations listened to the preaching of the truth, and about twelve

persons experienced conversion during the winter. At Liverpool, Marsden enjoyed many pleasant and profitable seasons. A Sunday-school, the first in the provincial circuits to which we find reference, was formed at Liverpool, at the commencement of 1804. Marsden called the attention of the congregation to the subject on New Year's Day. A committee of seven was appointed. The teachers, who were volunteers, were six in number, two of whom took charge on each Sunday. This school, in common with all schools of the kind at that day, seems to have been designed for the poorer classes only. On Sabbath, the 8th of January, twenty children presented themselves, who were taught by Joshua Newton and Abdiel Kirk. On the following Sabbath, twenty-six children attended, 'morning, noon and night.' A person who visited the school, remarked, 'The institution has a good appearance, and I hope will succeed.' A few months later, at the suggestion of the secretary, a gentleman was requested to attend, as 'writing-master.'[6] At Annapolis, sometimes without a resident minister for months, the members of the society held meetings for prayer and exhortation. By means of these they were mutually strengthened, and often 'powerfully blessed.'

A number of the loyalists who had settled in the county of Annapolis had been converted under the ministry of Black and his successors. The homes of several of these became centres of Methodist influence. That of John Slocomb, of Hanley Mountain, was one of

[6] This was not the first Sabbath-school formed in the Lower Provinces. A gentleman from one of the country districts, while visiting Halifax in December, 1788, wrote in his journal: 'Dec. 7th., I go to church in the morning and hear the Bishop preach a charity sermon to collect money for clothing some poor children, which he has engaged in a Sunday-school. There were £48 collected. The institution, however, is not generally approved of.'

this character. 'Mr. Slocomb was an American loyalist, and strongly attached to the British government,' says one of the early itinerants; 'but what was better, he loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth.' Of the same same class were the homes of John Vroom, and 'Major' Douw Ditmars, of Clementsport. Major Ditmars, a descendant of the Dutch settlers of New York, and previously connected with the Dutch Reformed Church, was said to be 'a most zealous, valuable friend.' To the names of these, and some others, less familiar, was added, during the winter of 1803-4, that of another, whose home, previously one of revelry and sin, became a sacred spot to many, and whose influence, given without reservation to Christ, proved wide-spread in its effects.

Samuel Vetch Bayard belonged to a family of French descent. His father, a loyalist, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, raised a regiment for the British service, in which the son served as an officer. At the close of the war, the 'ample and extensive' property of the family was confiscated by the victorious Whigs. The son removed to Nova Scotia, where he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the Royal Nova Scotia regiment. As an officer he is said to have been exceedingly proud and haughty; and, in private life, very disolute. When the regiment was disbanded in 1802, he retired on half-pay, retaining his rank, and removing to a large tract of land, granted him by the government, in the township of Wilmot. His new home became a favorite resort for the wealthy and gay. The members of his family were strictly forbidden to attend any of the Baptist or Methodist services, occasionally held in the neighborhood. Through the influence of a person now unknown, a friend, who very soon after became his wife, was induced to

listen to Edward Manning, in the old Baptist church at Nictaux. On the following Sabbath, the Colonel attended the same church, with the intention of preventing, by his presence, any admission of interest on her part. Manning addressed his hearers from the words of Peter; 'Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk.' The Colonel listened and trembled. A friend of his, a lawyer named Aplin, who had received much benefit from the reading of Wesley's sermons, called upon him, and left these sermons for his perusal. He read them in connection with his Bible, saw himself to be a sinner, learned the divine method of saving man, consented to be saved by that plan, and resting the whole weight of his guilt on the atonement of Christ, found peace. Without delay he commenced to act in the spirit of good Latimer's adage, 'Restitution or no remission;' and in all cases where it was possible made ample recompense for past wrongs. Soon after his conversion, the Rev. Wm. Twining of Cornwallis called upon him, and in company with him and his wife, visited Douw Ditmars at Clementsport.

Through the reading of Fletcher's 'Checks,' placed in his hands by a friend, Col. Bayard resolved to connect himself with the Methodist branch of the Church of Christ. His first step, after the adoption of this resolution, was to write a note to Black, who was expected to visit the Annapolis circuit, asking him to call at his residence. That minister, ignorant of the existence of the note, but informed of the event which had prompted its despatch, called upon him on his way to Annapolis, and met with a pleasing reception. 'He received me,' said Black, 'with the utmost kindness, and rejoiced to have a Methodist preacher under his roof. With many tears

he lamented his former infidelity and aversion to the people of God; and expressed again and again his thankfulness to God that his eyes had been opened ere it was too late. His servant was soon sent to invite Captain R—, and Lawyer A—, and some others, to dinner and tea; and all the neighborhood for some miles around, to hear preaching in the evening, when we had a large congregation in his new house. We had a solemn and profitable season, while I discoursed on the nature of Christian faith, and the preciousness of Jesus Christ to those who believe in Him, from 1st Peter 2, 7. Several Christian friends stopped after the public service was over. The evening was agreeably spent in singing, prayer, and Christian conversation.' On his return from Annapolis, Black again preached at the Colonel's residence. 'The remembrance of his former sinful course,' wrote Black, 'leads him often to weep, and, with many tears, to express his abhorrence of them. He is much attached to Mr. Wesley's and Mr. Fletcher's writings. He has given me an order to procure him Mr. Wesley's sermons and Mr. Fletcher's works, together with Dr. Coke's Bible.' Mrs. Bayard, who appeared to Black to be a true penitent, was 'soon numbered among the children of God, and enabled to rejoice in Christ Jesus.' [7] The consciousness of the forgiveness of her sins she retained until her departure, in a good old age.

"The conversion of an officer so distinguished by rank and bravery, by profaneness, by dissipation, in a word, by an utter and arrogant recklessness of all religious concerns,' could not, as Dr. Richey remarks, 'but excite a profound sensation throughout the wide and respectable circle of his acquaintance. Far and near it was matter of astonishment and the topic of remark. To

[7] 'Arminian Magazine,' 1805, p. 88.

some it was quite obvious that he was beside himself; others, more cool and philosophic, predicted that the fervor of religious excitement would soon pass away, and his former vices resume their wonted ascendancy.' His acquaintances treated him in accordance with these views. The Governor, a former intimate friend, rode past his residence, and the Governor's lady chose to be witty at his expense. The Bishop, whose country seat was at Aylesford, after urging him in vain to continue in the Episcopal Church, gave him to understand that he could no longer visit him, in consequence of the 'low company' kept by him.[8] None of these things moved him. He even wrote to the Duke of Kent, with whom he had had some correspondence after the return of the latter to England, an account of the change which had taken place in his opinions and life. The letter was answered in a spirit worthy of a son of George the Third. The Duke, who had not hesitated, when in Halifax, to express his esteem for the Methodists, replied that it was not probable that he should again meet his former acquaintance in the field, or in the ball room, and respectfully asked to be remembered by him in his devotions. It is quite possible that the plain and faithful admonitions of his former companion in arms and in folly may have been among the means which led to the reformation, so evident in the later years of the Duke's life.

Those who waited for the return of Col. Bayard to his former habits were doomed to a life-long disappointment. The change which rendered him a monument of the transforming energy of the Gospel, though almost as sudden as that which checked the career of Saul of Tarsus, was yet so complete that, without exaggaration, he had become a 'new creature.' Old things

[8] Marsden's 'Narrative,' p. 185.

had passed away; all things had become new. 'As if entirely sanctified from the moment of his birth from above, he exhibited at once and continually, the lineaments of the divine image in all the perfection of their beauty, and all the fruits of the Spirit in the mildness of full maturity.' As a class-leader, he was affectionate in spirit and faithful in counsel; his exhortations and prayers, in the public services led by him in the absence of the ministry, interested and impressed his hearers; and, as a magistrate, he became 'a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well.' In the opinion of his friends, his benevolence often exceeded the bounds of prudence. The cause of missions lay near his heart; his unwearied exertions in behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society were not soon forgotten; and when Temperance societies were introduced into the province he became the president of one of the earliest, and a zealous advocate of abstinence from the use of alcoholic stimulants. His regard for the ministry of the Methodist Church almost amounted to veneration. No act that could add to their comfort seemed menial to him. They, on the other hand, as frequent witnesses of his piety in public and domestic life, spoke of him to each other as the 'John Fletcher of Nova Scotia,' and learned to look upon his presence as a benediction. William Croscombe, whose long acquaintance with him commenced a few years after his conversion, writes in his private journal: 'Let me record a short memorial of this blessed man as I saw him. He lived the Christian. We too generally satisfy ourselves by describing what the Christian ought to be, and in hoping that we shall, at some indefinite time, become such; but Col. Bayard was a Christian at home, or abroad; in the means of grace, or out of them; in the company of the ungodly or the

pious. Morning, noon and night, in all places and under all circumstances, as far as man can judge his fellow-creature, Col. Bayard was a Christian. He was one of those rare saints, upon whom the mind loves to dwell.' Dr. Richey, whose acquaintance with him commenced some years later, says of him; 'I am delineating no ideal picture. I speak that I do know, and testify that I have seen * *. When officiating at his domestic altar, he usually read the word of God standing, and I never saw him do so without bedewing it with his tears. Before he had proceeded many verses in the lesson, his venerable and majestic form would tremble, as if beneath the superincumbent weight of the Spirit of glory and of God, that rested upon him; tears would suffuse his face, and some pious ejaculation, or burst of praise, intermingling with the heavenly oracles, would touch a responsive cord in every heart possessed of a particle of spiritual susceptibility. Eternity has now placed its signet upon his character. Sweetly he sleeps in Jesus. I here record my heart-felt gratitude to God that I ever knew him.'[9] In 1832, after nearly thirty years of membership in the Methodist Church—of which he said a few days before his death, 'Her doctrines and discipline are the most pure of any Church on earth'—he passed to the Church triumphant. On the morning of May the 24th, a public fast day, he was taken suddenly ill, when about to leave his home for the church. The severity of his illness allowed but little opportunity for conversation, but did not prevent him from assuring his friends that 'Christ was precious.' On the following day he finished his course.

At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the members of which met in Baltimore, on the

[9] 'Memoir of Black' p. 324.

7th of May, 1804, William Black was present, as a guest. Coke, who presided, urged Black to visit Bermuda; and in case an open door should be presented, to return to Nova Scotia in order to remove his family to the islands, and to remain there for three or four years. Black for a time hesitated, but on Coke's assurance that two additional preachers should be sent to Nova Scotia, consented to undertake the mission. In writing to the provincial ministers, respecting his determination to obtain the promised help, and the high hopes he entertained of Black's success in Bermuda, Coke, who evidently feared a protest, said, 'You have reason to be sorry, brethren, but you have no right to complain. You must not trust in an arm of flesh, however useful Christ may have made it to you. On Christ alone you must depend.'

Black was absent on his experimental trip to Bermuda when the Provincial Conference of 1804 was held. By appointment of Coke, and with the sanction of his brethren, James Mann presided at the sessions, which were commenced in Halifax, on Friday, the 6th of July. Joshua Marsden and William Bennett, previously ordained, were received into full connexion. John Cooper was separated from his brethren, for immoral conduct; and Thomas Olivant was suspended from the ministry for twelve months, for intemperance. James Jones, whose name does not re-appear on the Minutes, was received on trial, and appointed to Sheffield. Nine hundred and fourteen members were reported from the several circuits, —an increase of thirty one during the year. It was ordered that in future a yearly collection should be made by the preachers, to meet the expenses of travelling to the Conference. The scrupulous observance of this rule, and the placing of the several collections in a common fund, were strongly urged.

Thomas Olivant never returned to the ranks of the itinerant ministry. This talented and gentle-spirited man had fallen a victim to the drinking habits of the day, which, in spite of Wesley's strict rule on the subject, dragged several of the ministers of early Methodism from the pulpit to the ditch, and weakened the influence of many others; while they also sent large numbers of her members from her classes and communion services to degradation and death, and thousands of her Sunday-scholars to early graves. After several years of wandering through the Lower Provinces and Maine, Olivant found his way to the small loyalist settlement of Bocabec, in Charlotte county, N. B., where he acted for a time as tutor in a private family. Upon the death of the gentleman with whom he had found a home at Bocabec, he removed to Digdeguash, in the same county. There he taught school, and found a life-long home in the house of Peter McCallum, Esq.. Through the Divine blessing upon the persevering efforts and sympathies of Mr. McCallum and his excellent wife, the fallen man was raised on his feet. Again possessed of the joy of salvation, and upheld by God's free Spirit, he became a class-leader and local preacher, beloved by those who knew him for many years. His last illness was severe, but borne with patience. Gratitude to God, and to those friends, who, by their patience and forbearance, had helped him back to the paths of righteousness, filled his soul. As the McCallum family were gathered near his dying bed, he looked up at the aged squire and his wife, and with a face radiant with joy, expressed a hope that he might be the first to welcome them to everlasting habitations. A little later he departed to be with Christ. His death took place in 1846.

In the latter part of August, 1804, Black returned through New Brunswick from the United States. He had placed his luggage on board a vessel bound from New York to Bermuda, but had been prevented from sailing by the hostility of several Bermudians, who were returning to the islands. James Mann, relieved from duty at Halifax by Black's return, sailed for Shelburne, where he spent the winter. On the 4th of September, 1804, John Mann laid the foundation stone of the first Methodist church erected at Shelburne. Nearly two hundred pounds, in aid of the building fund, were collected in London, Portsmouth, Portsea, Sheffield, Chichester and other places in England, by Thomas Martin, and Alexander Barry, a brother of Robert. James Mann preached the first sermon in the new church, to a large congregation, on the evening of Sabbath, February 16th, 1806. In that building the Methodists of Shelburne continued to worship God for more than threescore years. From St. Stephen, McColl, sometimes lonely and discouraged, and ready to charge his brethren with want of sympathy, reported signs of a brighter day. 'In June, 1804,' he says in his journal, 'one came forward giving thanks to God for deliverance to her soul; three more followed her example and joined the church. All the following summer was encouraging; several found peace and joined us.' Marsden, in accordance with Conference appointment, proceeded to St. John. Through his efforts 'old differences in the society were composed, and the contending parties reconciled. Among the towns-people prejudices seemed to lose ground.' Towards the end of the year, plain dealing with the congregation awakened some strife, through which he persevered in the discharge of his duty. From Annapolis, Bennett's field of labor, that minister reported many of his friends

'truly alive to God,' with 'love and harmony running through the whole.'

Coke used earnest efforts to obtain the two missionaries promised from England. One of these, William Sutcliffe, reached Halifax early in November, and with his wife proceeded to Liverpool. Robert Shipley, a West Indian missionary, broken down in health by repeated attacks of fever at Dominica, was also requested by the Committee to remove to Nova Scotia. He, however returned to England. The Committee were inclined to treat this neglect of orders in a spirit of severity. Coke's letter in Mr. Shipley's behalf explains the reason of the failure of the latter to report himself in Nova Scotia. 'Please tell the Committee' the Doctor wrote to Mr. Lomas, 'to write kindly to Mr. Shipley * * Brother Shipley has done more in the way of martyrdom than perhaps any other man in the Connexion would have done. He nursed that blessed work in Dominica till the Society sprang up from fifty to one thousand and five. To do this he endured yellow fever four times, and his wife, twice. When he was on the point of dying, his physicians urged him to set off instantly with the fleet to his native country. He went off, instead of going to Nova Scotia. Very probably you would have done the same. We have no right to punish him. Do let him go to Nova Scotia. He may then go, when recovered, back to the dear negroes.' Mr. Shipley never reached Nova Scotia.

According to previous arrangement, Black, on his failure to reach Bermuda, resumed the duties of General Superintendent in the Lower Provinces. He therefore presided over the sessions of the Conference, held at Horton, on the second Friday in June, 1805. There, for the first time, William Sutcliffe met his brethren engaged in the provincial work.

CHAPTER XV.

METHODISM IN THE LOWER PROVINCES, FROM THE CONFERENCE OF 1805 TO THAT OF 1813.

Encouraging indications. Conference of 1806. Incident. Stephen Bamford. His work in Cumberland. Edward Dixon. Revivals at Liverpool, St. John and other places. Attack. Erection of the Germain St. Methodist Church, in St. John, N. B. Opening of the Church by Bennett. Formation of a Sunday-school. Prince Edward Island. Thomas Dawson. His labors in the Island. His death. Arrival of Methodists from Guernsey. Joseph Avard. Appointment of James Bulpit to Prince Edward Island. Manchester. James Knowlan. His arrival in the Provinces. Conference of 1809. Formation of a class at Carleton, N. B. Conference of 1810. Appointment of James Priestly. Episcopal monopoly of the right to solemnize marriage. Attempt to secure endowment from Provincial revenues. Refusal of aid by New Brunswick Council to Trustees of Germain St. Church. Attack upon Methodists in St. John. Conversion under Black's ministry. Fredericton Sabbath-school. Joseph Alexander. His death. Death of Duncan Blair. Superannuation of Black. William Croscombe. Dangerous passage. Arrival at Halifax. New scenes. Conference of 1812. The work during 1812-13. Influence of the war with the United States. Horton circuit. Prince Edward Island. Conference of 1813. A sad visit.

Encouraging indications cheered the hearts of the isolated itinerants during the year which followed the Conference of 1805. At Liverpool, the members of the society were inspirited, and about thirty were added to their number, whom, with an exception or two, Sutcliffe, two years later, reported as faithful to their profession. Black, on his return from a visit to the southern coast, reported that 'the Lord was evidently at work in the different settlements,' and that 'some had found peace with God.' During two months spent by Sutcliffe at Shelburne twenty-eight were added to the church. In the city of St. John, and in the settlements along the river, 'the congregations increased both in numbers and

in respectability.' Several who had been awakened found the pearl of great price. 'Our covenant meeting, held in St. John at the beginning of 1806,' wrote Marsden, 'was the most powerful I had ever attended. So great was the Holy One in the midst of us, that an emotion of solemn awe, mixed with astonishment and self-abasing humility, was evidently felt by many hearts. This was succeeded by such a general melting, wailing, supplication and pathos, as rendered every heart like dissolving snow before the glorious sun.' The lack of such influences at Halifax led to the appointment of a day for special fasting and prayer by the membership in that town.

The ministers in the Lower Provinces met at Horton, early in June, 1806. Duncan McColl, who had not been present at the annual gatherings of his brethren since 1797, received a truly fraternal welcome. He reported his labors at St. Stephen, and in some other parts of his circuit, during the year, to have been productive of good; but stated that the arrival at St. David's of a preacher who 'blew up the coals of the old Newlight business,' and then acted in a very immoral manner, had given a sad blow to religion and morals at that place. Bennett, the Secretary, reported an increase of about forty members. The usual business was conducted in harmony, and the religious services connected with the Conference were of a pleasing character. In expectation of the arrival of other ministers from England, a local preacher named Hays was placed in charge of the Horton circuit for six months, or longer, if necessary.

In the life of a girl of seventeen, who listened to the sermons preached by William Black and James Mann, at the Conference of 1806, the influence of the religious services connected with that gathering may be clearly

traced. This young lady had previously known the Methodists only by report; and that report, as it had reached her home in Cornwallis, had been by no means favorable. While visiting Horton at the time of the Conference, she for the first time sat under the preaching of the Methodist ministry. 'Never before had she listened to such discourses as theirs; and her heart began to glow with love to both ministers and people. She soon prayed to be one of them, but took no other step, lest being alone, she should again relapse into carelessness.' Five years later, as Mrs. David Starr, she removed to Halifax and became an attendant upon the Methodist services in the town. About a year after her arrival, while one evening at prayer, after the retirement of other members of the household, she received an 'inwrought confidence that her supplications were accepted, and that the strength of grace would be perfected in her weakness.' Continuing to cast herself exclusively upon the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, she obtained the direct witness of the Spirit, which became clearer as her faith increased in strength by oft-repeated exercise. 'To the direct testimony was added the corroborative evidence of the Spirit's fruit, and the establishment of her soul in the joy of the Lord was the natural consequence. To be useful in the cause of Christ was one of the earliest and strongest instincts of the new life imparted to her soul, and it became one of the most influential and abiding of those motives which regulated her course for half a century. * * * Through her instrumentality the Wesleyan ministers visited the place of her nativity, and having preached in the home of her parents and elsewhere, laid the foundation of one of the most prosperous circuits in Nova Scotia.' In 1832, when it became necessary to appoint a leader in the place of the Rev. Wm.

Black, whose increasing infirmities rendered even the care of a class a too heavy task, she, who, when a young girl, had first heard the Methodist doctrines from his lips, was solicited to become his successor. With some hesitation she accepted the position. After a life of faith and usefulness, in which, as in all lives, joys and sorrows were mingled, she passed hence in November, 1858. To Christ alone she gave the glory of grace; to that branch of the Church through the agency of which she had been led Christward, she preserved an undying attachment. Her house was for many years a home for its ministers when visiting, or passing through the city, and three of her children became partakers of the trials and triumphs of the itinerant's life. [1]

The name of Stephen Bamford first appears in the English Minutes of 1809, but it was at the Provincial Conference of 1806 that his brethren sent him forth to begin his long and useful ministerial career. The presence of the 29th regiment for four years in Halifax had enabled the Methodists of that town to form a satisfactory estimate of the man who so frequently stood before them in military garb, declaring the counsel of God. They discerned his worth, and desired his employment as a Gospel laborer, in a more extensive sphere. Black, by their request, submitted a proposal to secure his discharge, to Dr. Coke and the Missionary Committee. The Committee, who had been disappointed by the results of some previous ventures of the kind, advised Black to abandon the intention, in case no preliminary steps towards discharge had been taken. Happily, the officials of the church in Halifax availed themselves of their opportunity of independent action, and secured for the Metho-

[1] Biographical Sketch of Mrs. Starr, by her son-in-law, the Rev. C. Stewart.

dist Church in the Lower Provinces the services of one, who proved no unworthy representative of the noble band of men, which the Methodist ministry, from the days of Wesley, has received from the British army. In accordance with the conditions prescribed by the Colonel of the regiment, a considerable sum was raised by the members of the society, and paid as a bounty to two men who consented to join the regiment in the room of Bamford, who, after fourteen years of honorable service, took his discharge, and laid aside his military dress. In deference to the Missionary Committee he was sent as a local preacher to the Cumberland circuit, which from the spring of 1804 had received but two or three brief visits from the itinerant ministry.

On the 2nd of July, 1806, Bamford commenced his work in that hard and neglected circuit, by preaching at the Stone Chapel, at Point de Bute; and continued to labor throughout the year with diligence and success. Among the first awakened under his ministry was Edward Dixon. Previous religious impressions had been like the morning cloud and the early dew; but under one of Bamford's earlier sermons at Sackville he saw the necessity of a personal interest in Christ, and resolved to act in accordance with his convictions of duty. For three years, during which he 'broke off his sins by repentance,' read the Scriptures, and other books of a devotional character, and attended the means of grace, Mr. Dixon remained a 'broken-hearted sinner.' At the expiration of that period, a 'more than ordinary solemnity,' first felt by him while listening to a sermon by James Knowlan, led him to leave his work in the field and retire to an adjacent grove. As he knelt there in prayer, he had power with God, and like a prince prevailed. Peace was as clearly spoken as if the

words had reached his soul through the natural ear. That spot was seldom passed in subsequent days without recollection of the 'pledge of love' there bestowed. In later life, Mr. Dixon leased his farm, and devoted much of his time to assisting the ministry in holding 'protracted meetings,' in different localities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and in visiting neglected places, where he held services and visited from house to house. In old age, when expecting each day to be his last on earth, he wrote, 'Jesus is near and precious. I am looking forward with joyful anticipation to the day when Christ who is my life shall appear.'

Soon after the separation of the ministers at the close of the Conference of 1806, signs of gracious visitation appeared in several circuits. When the autumn had passed, and the preachers had returned from the exchanges which were generally arranged for that season, between the senior and junior ministers, earnest efforts were put forth, which the Lord the Spirit accompanied with a rich out-pouring of hallowed influences.

The Liverpool circuit was one of the first to which this blessing was vouchsafed. There, it pleased God to use the 'weak things of the world to confound the mighty.' The revival in that circuit is said to have commenced at Pleasant River, thirty miles from Liverpool. A few families had removed thither for the purpose of farming. No preacher had visited them, and they had spent their Sabbaths in each others' houses, and in conversation about their secular business. One of the elder settlers, a man who had been converted under the ministry of Henry Alline, proposed one day to his neighbors that a meeting should be held on the following Sabbath. The neighbors, who only saw impossibilities, replied by the incredulous question, 'Who will hold it? we have

no minister, and no place to hold it in.' 'Come to my house next Sunday,' said the person addressed; 'we can sing a hymn, read a chapter in the Bible and pray; and that will show to our children that we fear God, regard His Sabbath, and want to keep His commandments.' On the following Sabbath the neighbors met at the appointed place. The first convert in the revival which followed describes the scene. 'I went to that meeting with some of my companions full of glee, and laughing at the idea of Abner Hall keeping meeting at his little log-house. But when I got there I found the house tidy and clean, and everything quiet around. A table with a white cloth, and a Bible and hymn-book upon it, stood against the wall. I took my seat in silence, and as my eye rested on the Bible a solemnity came over me like the solemnity of the grave, and the longer I sat there the heavier I felt the weight of my sins; and the depravity of my heart came out to view as it had never done before. And I believe the revival began then and there, while we all sat looking at the Bible.' At the service of the following Sabbath, in the house of a neighbor, several were ready to testify of spiritual blessings received through the week. A few weeks later, three of the new converts went to Liverpool, and took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the intermission between the morning and afternoon services, to tell the worshippers in the Congregational church of the experience of themselves and their friends in the wilderness. 'There was great excitement,' says one, 'and the Spirit appeared to spread as fire in dry stubble, until the whole congregation was in a flame, and a person, who had dreamed that a great fire was kindled in the country, and was spreading to the town of Liverpool, thought that he saw the interpretation of his dream.' [2] The private exhortations

[2] 'Provincial Wesleyan,' Dec. 1869.

of the young converts tended to increase the interest awakened by their public statements. The minister and members of the Methodist society, prepared by special prayer to enter heartily into Christian labor, yet not disposed to act with haste, were soon stimulated to active effort by the anxious inquiries of several young people of their congregation. On the return of Sutcliffe from Pleasant River, where he had spent a week with great satisfaction, he threw himself earnestly into the work. 'The week following,' he wrote, 'was a glorious week indeed. Temporal business was in a great measure laid aside; and the streets echoed with the praises of some that had found peace, and the cries of others for pardoning mercy. Some houses were full of people, chiefly young, from morning to evening; some on their knees praying for several hours together, others praising God for deliverance, and endeavoring to encourage the distressed. We began the meetings when candles were lighted in the evening, and were constrained to continue them until two or three in the morning. The work continued nearly thus for several weeks, and parties came from different parts of the country to see for themselves, and, blessed be God, returned home with Christ in their hearts "the hope of glory." This has been the cause of a glorious work beginning in the country parts of the circuit, which I have visited twice, and where I have had some blessed seasons, such as exceeded anything of the kind I ever saw in England, making allowance for the smaller number and the circumstances and situation of the people. The work is still spreading in Port Mouton, Port Joli, Port Hebert, and Sable River.' A large number at the same period connected themselves with the Congregational church at Liverpool. At Port Joli, during the following summer, Black

administered the Lord's Supper to sixty communicants.

Concerning this revival, Joshua Newton, Esq., whom Sutcliffe calls 'a good assistant, in particular,' wrote Black, in March, 1807; 'There are no opposers, but all seem struck with the wonderful power of God. * * * Our old professors have all got a fresh spring, and seem to have awaked as out of sleep, and enjoy a new sense of the favor of God to their souls, and are breathing for the sanctifying influences of the Spirit. * * * Never was such a week spent in Liverpool as the last. There is scarce a family throughout the settlement, but has some of its members convinced or converted, and some whole families are subjects of the work. Some of the most profligate and hardened sinners have been brought to repentance, and now experience the pardoning love of God, and speak his praises in a most affecting and satisfactory manner. So that it is almost impossible to gainsay or resist.'[3] Among the 'profligate and hardened' were some Universalists and infidels, who 'renounced their pernicious tenets, burned their books, and with joy took their places among the disciples of Jesus.'

No less cheering were the tidings from Marsden, at St. John. That minister, on his arrival from Halifax in the autumn of 1806, found himself pastor of a church of ninety members, while his congregations comprised three times that number of persons. Deeply pained by the small degree of prosperity attending the mission in New Brunswick, he asked several of his friends in St. John to unite with him in the observance of a day for special fasting and prayer. While assembled in the church, they received a token of approval. During Marsden's absence at Sheffield and the neighboring appointments the revival commenced. A watch-night

[3] 'Methodist Magazine,' 1807, p. 478.

service, conducted by a local preacher and several leaders, was a season of deep interest. Marsden had intended to spend a month in the up-river district, but influenced in part by some inward impression, and in part by the prospect of an early end of the navigation, he returned to the city sooner than was expected. His friends greeted him with encouraging tidings. He found the members of the church under the influence of a spirit of prayer, and nearly twenty young persons, chiefly children of the members, under a conviction, more or less clear, of their need of salvation. The complaints preferred by some of his hearers led him to watch the state of the work very narrowly. Some 'buddings of enthusiasm' appeared; but these, with as much prudence as possible, he endeavored to check. Towards the last of February the revival increased in power. The little church was crowded, and the services were peculiarly solemn. 'Some,' said Marsden, 'who have come with the professed design of ridiculing the work of God, have been struck down, and constrained to cry for mercy and salvation, in the most heart-rending manner. A few have been set at liberty under the word, but the work has been chiefly carried on in prayer-meetings, to which numbers resort, who will not go away till a late hour. Not a day passes but I hear of three or four who are struck to the heart, and scarcely is there a meeting but some join the society.

* * * Much opposition has been made to this work. Calumny and blasphemy, scripture and ridicule, promises and menaces have all been employed, but without success. * * * Many of the young men who are subjects of this work were once both loose in their principles, and irregular in their practices. But now they are new creatures; and one can scarcely go through a street of this little city without hearing the voice of

praise, or seeing the young men assembling together for prayer. * * * Some wonder, some mock, some acknowledge the power of God, and several, not in society, defend the cause to the utmost of their power. * * * But, as yet, none of the "rulers" have "believed on him."'[4] Before the close of the special services, one hundred persons were received into Church membership.

These reviving influences were shared by several other circuits in a greater or less degree. From Halifax, a friend wrote Marsden, 'We have great and glorious times. Twenty or thirty profess faith in the blood of Christ.' From the Annapolis circuit, Bennett reported blessed meetings, accompanied by conversions, and 'prospects of revival through almost all the circuit.' At Wallace, a distant part of Bamford's circuit, but seldom visited on account of its isolated position, thirty or forty were added to the society. Similar tidings reached his brethren from James Mann, at Barrington. On the 30th of March, 1807, he wrote: 'The Lord is carrying on a blessed work at this place. A good number are awakened, and several have found peace with God. We had a blessed time yesterday, both at the ordinance of baptism, and also at the sacred supper of the Lord. I baptized nine adults; several others are about joining us.' Late in the following summer, Black reported fourteen new members at Barrington. Among those were Seth Coffin and his wife, a 'worthy couple,' who, through a subsequent life of many years, proved the reality of the change then professed, and after having trained up a family who 'were a source of satisfaction and comfort to them in their old age,' departed to the Church above.

During the autumn of 1806, two gentlemen from Scotland, holding Sandemanian tenets, made an attack

[4] Marsden's 'Narrative,' pp. 215-217.

from the pulpit upon the Methodists in Halifax, and followed the attack by the circulation of Walker's silly 'Address to the Methodists.' On their way to New York, in the spring of 1807, contrary winds obliged the vessel in which they had sailed to visit the harbor of Liverpool. While there, they preached several times for the pastor of the Congregational church. On their arrival at New York, one of them addressed a letter to the editor of the 'Evangelical Magazine,' calling in question the reality of the recent revival at Liverpool. The editors of the 'Christian Observer,' another English periodical, had two or three years earlier taken advantage of the publication of a pamphlet hostile to Methodism, from the pen of a clergyman of the Episcopal Church in Ireland, to make a severe attack upon Graham and Ouseley, the devoted Irish Methodist missionaries. Encouraged by the tone of Balfour's letter, they now, in a review of the reports of the revivals in Nova Scotia, as presented in the pages of the English 'Methodist Magazine,' took the opportunity of setting forth their views upon the subject of revivals of religion, in a most unfriendly spirit. The attack was boldly met by Joseph Benson, the editor of the 'Methodist Magazine,' supported by communications from Black; and was doubtless overruled for the confirmation of the Gospel. The assertion that none erred in their estimate of conversion, and in that state of error were swept into the churches by the surrounding current; or that none, through the constant presence of temptation, and the frequent absence of those helps, upon which, in forgetfulness of divine power, men often lean too heavily, proved unfaithful to their profession, would be rash, in view of oft-repeated facts. Exceptions, however, do not set aside the general rule. The lapse of time proved the reality of the work; for

during subsequent years a long succession of individuals passed away, who, when the year 1806-7 was mentioned as a time of enthusiasm, could reply with one, who a few years since died in hope of eternal life, 'It was then that my soul received Christ Jesus the Lord.[5]

The church in St. John, purchased during Bishop's ministry there, was now old and uncomfortable, as well as too small for the accommodation of all who wished to attend the services held in it. Marsden, therefore, resolved to attempt the erection of a more suitable building. The membership in the city were generally poor, so that those whom he first consulted could give him little encouragement. A strong conviction of the necessity for a new place of worship, and an unfaltering trust in the promises of God, alone sustained him in the attempt which resulted in the erection of the Germain Street Methodist Church. Through the assistance of several friends, the most prominent of whom was John Ferguson, Esq., one of the earliest converts in that city, a piece of land was purchased, and the frame for a building, sixty feet in length and forty-two in breadth, soon procured. Volunteers from the congregation digged the foundation; and on an appointed day, a number of the inhabitants sent their horses and carts to carry stone, while others assisted in the removal of the frame from the shore. After Marsden had preached upon the corner stone, more than one hundred men came forward to assist in raising the frame. Even then, the success of the undertaking was by no means certain. The size of the intended building, on the one hand; and on the other, the financial weakness of the membership, and the strength of the tide of prejudice to be stemmed, caused the attempt to appear hazardous for some time to the interests of

[5] The late Miss Charlotte A. Newton, of Guysboro.

those who assumed the responsibility. So chimerical did the project seem to some parties, among whom were a few members of the society, who had predicted evil things, that 'these,' Mr. Ferguson tells us, 'as they passed the building, would look up and sneeringly say, "That will never be finished." ' Marsden put forth all his energies in the endeavor to encourage his friends, and disappoint the prophets of failure. For several months he worked at the building with his own hands from morning till night. 'I know not,' he afterwards said, 'that I was ever better in body or happier in soul than when I worked all day at the new, and preached at night in the old, 'chapel.' He also spent two months in visiting other circuits, and soliciting pecuniary assistance. He did not, however, remain to see the completion of the building. In May, 1806, Dr. Coke had requested Black to renew his attempt to reach Bermuda, but Black's brethren in the Lower Provinces interposed with a remonstrance, which the Doctor did not attempt to overrule. Frustrated in his choice of an agent, but determined not to abandon his purpose, Coke took advantage of an intimation which Marsden, in a moment of heroic feeling had given, secured his appointment to Bermuda, and, in his usual laconic style, made known to him the arrangement and urged him to 'set off as soon as possible.' These marching-orders tried him, though he had previously proposed an early recal in consequence of the effect of climate and exposure upon his health. The new church was in course of erection, and his heart was cheered by the stability of the recent converts. 'By the blessing of God,' he was able to write, in spite of his absence from his circuit, 'most of those who were awakened last winter stand fast as a rock, and walk humbly and closely with God.' In sadness of heart, pre-

parations were at once made for removal, which did not, however, though lack of opportunity of passage, take place until the following spring. Marsden's place at St. John was supplied by Bennett, who conducted the opening services of the new church, on Christmas, 1808. At six o'clock in the morning a prayer-meeting was held, and during the day two sermons were preached by Bennett to crowded congregations. During the succeeding summer a Sabbath school was organized in the old church by George Taylor, a school master and local preacher. The school was fashioned after the models of that day. With a more practical recognition of the close connection between the Gospel and education than would be prudent in view of the educational advantages of the present day, the principal part of the time allotted for the two sessions of each Sabbath was spent in the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. The teachers assisted the superintendent by correcting the calculations, and inspecting the writing of the scholars. Ten minutes before the close of each session were spent by the superintendent or a teacher, in enforcing some moral or religious truth, and then the boys—for boys only were permitted to attend—were marched to the new church in time for public worship. This church, a monument of Marsden's untiring and successful labors in St. John, stood for three score and ten years; and then the venerable building, the spiritual birth-place of many hundreds of ransomed worshippers, fell before the resistless flames which swept away a large part of the city, on the 20th of June, 1877.

In July, 1807, a minister, sent out through the influence of Dr. Clarke, reached Prince Edward Island. Before his arrival, earnest, and even heroic, efforts for the promotion of the work of God, had been put forth by valuable

local laborers. The steps taken by the 'singularly devoted' Benjamin Chappell for the benefit of his fellow-islanders have been noticed. The name of Thomas Dawson, the first local preacher who came to his assistance, is worthy of special mention. He was a native of the county Monaghan, Ireland. At the age of sixteen he joined the army, and as a non-commissioned officer in a grenadier company, served in America under Lord Cornwallis, until the surrender of that officer with his whole army to Washington. Upon his return to Ireland, he joined the Royal Irish Artillery, and subsequently, the battalion of Cavan Militia, as paymaster under the Earl of Bellamont. After his withdrawal from the army, in 1799, he held a situation of some importance in Dublin, under the same nobleman. For some time, a wish to make suitable provision for his sons, as farmers, had led him to contemplate removal to British North America. The death of the nobleman by whom he was employed, and the desire to remove his family from exposure to the repetition of such scenes as he had witnessed during the Irish Rebellion, caused the wish to become a determination. He, therefore, purchased a tract of six hundred acres, at the head of the Hillsborough River, P. E. I., from one of the proprietors of that island, and in March, 1801, with his family took his final departure from his native country. In early life Mr. Dawson had been wild and profane; but through the reading of Doddridges's 'Rise and Progress,' he had been aroused to see his danger, and to find safety in the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ. At what time he became a local preacher is not known. Stephen Bamford, who had frequently heard him preach at the Blaris Camp, in Ireland, rejoiced at a later period to meet his sons in America.

So circuitous were the routes travelled at that day, by parties who sought to find their way from Britain to British America, that Mr. Dawson and his family took passage for Philadelphia, on their way to their almost unknown destination. In that city several persons of influence sought to detain him by an offer of a chaplaincy in an American frigate, with provision for his two eldest sons as midshipmen; but his regard for Britain prevented his acceptance of the tempting offer. In June, 1801, he reached Charlottetown, and settled upon the tract previously purchased, at twenty-four miles distance from the capital. At Charlottetown he found four members of the Methodist Church. These were Benjamin Chappell and his wife, Joseph Robinson, and Mrs. Smith. The impression made upon his mind by the spiritual destitution of the inhabitants of the colony, and the efforts made by him to relieve it to the utmost of his ability, find their most appropriate statement in the words of him who wrote; 'The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.' Brief records of his Gospel labors, kept by a friendly hand, indicate such frequent absence from home, as must, in all similar cases, render accumulation of earthly goods an impossibility. Frequent services were held by him at Charlottetown; some times in the room used for a church, but generally at the house of Mrs. Smith. Provided with a pocket compass, and often guided by blazed paths, he frequently found his way to Lot 49, Cherry Valley, Vernon River, Murray Harbor, St. Peters, and Three Rivers. It is said that no settlement in the island remained unvisited by him. At that time there were no roads and bridges throughout the island. 'He would sometimes,' says his youngest son, 'walk many miles before breakfast on a Sunday morning, to keep an appointment. I have heard of him wading streams and

swimming rivers. No obstacle seemed so great as to hinder him from performing what he considered his duty.' Mr. Dawson was a man of strong constitution and powerful frame, and in the prime of life; but flesh and blood could not long sustain the test to which he subjected his physical powers. In December, 1804, he was seized by a severe cold, which terminated in quinsy. In the absence of proper medical care the disease settled in the shoulder and arm. On the 22nd of January, though ill, he walked home from Charlottetown. On the 29th of the next month, friends in that place sent for him, to save his life, if possible. Four days later Mr. Chappell sadly wrote, 'No hope;' and on the 4th of March mournfully added, ''Tis finished. At seven o'clock Mr. Dawson died.' It is said that he departed, 'happy in God, full of faith and love, and joy.' His ministry had been acceptable to a large number of the inhabitants of the island, many of whom long remembered his name with grateful emotion.

A number of tradesmen, most of whom, as Methodists, remembered Adam Clarke, and the persecution he had suffered for their sakes, left the Island of Guernsey, in 1806, to make themselves new homes at Murray Harbor, P. E. I. The agent from whom they purchased their lands was Joseph Avard, a convert of Adam Clarke, during the great revival under his ministry at St. Austell, in Cornwall, through which Samuel Drew, afterwards one of the first metaphysicians of Britain, and a local preacher to the end of his days, with several others, who became men of note in literature or mechanics, were brought into the fold of Christ. Mr. Avard, who was also a local preacher, had seen in the Methodist Magazine for 1805, from the pen of Black, a reference to the work and departure of Thomas Dawson. His wife expressed her full approval of his desire to proceed to Mr.

Dawson's late field of toil; and arrangements were immediately made for departure with the intending emigrants. Seventy-three men, women and children, left Guernsey in a vessel chartered for Montreal, in March, and in May landed in safety at Charlottetown. On the Sabbath after their arrival Mr. Avard preached to his fellow-passengers and some of the people of Charlottetown. These services he continued on each Sabbath, sometimes in the town, at other times at Vernon River, where he found several who had been enlightened under the ministry of Mr. Dawson. Convinced that it would be impossible to attend to the calls presented to him, without neglect of business, on the results of which his family and himself were wholly dependent, Mr. Avard, after consultation with friends, opened a correspondence with Doctors Clarke and Coke, respecting the appointment of a missionary to the colony. In response to this appeal, James Bulpit and his wife, who had just returned to England from Newfoundland, were asked to re-cross the Atlantic, and spend three years in the island. They assented, with some hesitation, and after a tedious journey, via Quebec and Canso, reached their mission. The 'poor friends from Guernsey shed tears of joy' as they surrounded the missionary and his wife. The Governor received Bulpit with kindness, asked him if the the Methodists would 'fight,' as loyal subjects, and permitted him to preach in the court-house, where a large congregation of the most respectable inhabitants of the place listened to him. Soon after his arrival, Bulpit reported the number of members in society at fifty, fifteen of whom were resident at Charlottetown, where he fixed his headquarters. The rector, who officiated in the morning, with his family attended the Methodist services in the evening. His eldest son soon be-

came a member of the class. Encouraged by such prospects as he had 'never seen before,' the missionary pursued his labors, assisted by Mr. Avard, who continued to act as a local preacher until his removal to Sackville, in 1814. Arrangements for the erection of a new church during the summer of 1808 were not carried out, and services were continued on the Sabbath evening in the unfinished church, or in the court-house, where in the morning the rector of the parish officiated. Prayer-meetings were frequently held in the large room used by Mrs. Bulpit for a school-room. Besides a 'lively people' at Murray Harbor, and congregations at Bedeque and Tryon, were friends at Cherry Valley, where a kindly Quaker promised fifty acres of land, on which to erect a mission establishment.

A large number of those loyalists and disbanded troops, who had reached Nova Scotia at the close of the American war, had settled at Guysboro', Manchester, and other harbors on the western side of the Gut of Canso. Black had for years looked in that direction, and desired to visit them, or send one of his preachers with the Gospel message, but had been hindered by personal engagements, or the smallness of the number of itinerants under his charge. A letter sent to him by two members of the Methodist Church, a Mr. Richardson and his wife, who had frequently listened to him in earlier years, was shown to James Mann, who, in the spring of 1808, visited the settlements named. He received a Christian greeting from the few interested in the purpose of his visit, and remained among them six weeks, during which he visited the settlers, held prayer-meetings among them, and preached the Gospel of the grace of God, in his usual simple and earnest style. The minds of some were deeply impressed by his utterances, and a

class-meeting, the first in the place, held for the benefit of these. In the autumn of the following year, another short, but most acceptable, visit was paid them by William Bennett, whose services were made a blessing to those who 'feared the Lord and thought upon his name.' A special measure of divine influence rested upon him during the delivery of one sermon, by which many were stimulated to seek for spiritual blessings to which they had previously been strangers.[6] A field of so much promise merited more than occasional visits, yet, from the paucity of the number of preachers, even these brief seasons of blessing were not again enjoyed for several years.

James Knowlan, appointed at the English Conference of 1808 to supply the vacancy caused by the removal of Marsden to Bermuda, reached the provinces in December. He was an Irishman, of whose early religious life little is known. In 1806 he had been ordained, and sent as a missionary to Jamaica. During a short residence in that island, he had witnessed the infliction of some of the most revolting barbarities connected with that most brutal period of West Indian slavery. He had pleaded before the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, in behalf of a slave, dragged to the guard-house for the crime of 'praying too loud' with his own family; and, finding his own efforts, and those of his fellow missionary, powerless to save the poor fellow from punishment, had turned away with the conviction, which neither dared publicly utter to the other, 'We must seek justice at home.' It is matter of astonishment that the determined Irish missionary was able to preserve silence in the midst of these horrors. Illness alone prevented him from appearing before the Common Coun-

[6] 'Wesleyan,' 1838, p. 288.

cil at the same time as his colleague, who was committed to prison for a month, because singing had been heard in his church after six in the evening.

The appearance of serious feverish symptoms, very soon after Knowlan's arrival at Jamaica, placed before him the evident alternative of early death, or almost immediate removal to a more congenial climate. From the former he was mainly preserved, so far as human causes are concerned, by a strong constitution, which carried him through a whole train of inflammatory fevers. In April, 1808, he left Jamaica for England. A glance at the 'station sheet,' issued during the ensuing Conference, acquainted him with his appointment to Nova Scotia. 'I know not how,' he wrote, 'I may bear such an extreme of cold, as that climate compared with Jamaica, but I am resigned, praying that God may fit me for the work in that quarter, if sent there.' Delayed by the loss of his passage by the intended route, he sailed in October from Portsmouth for St. John, N. B. A sloop of war, spoken during the passage, was at first taken for an enemy's vessel, and preparations were made for defence, by 'forty men with fourteen long guns.' The missionary took his station beside the captain, on the quarter deck. On the 2nd of December, he landed in St. John; and commenced his work in the provinces by delivering an exhortation at the prayer-meeting held that evening in the old church, and by preaching in the same building on the following Sabbath. After spending a few days at Horton, where they had 'not had preaching more than once in seven weeks, for some time;' and at Windsor, where for several years they 'had only had a sermon now and then from John Mann,' who was 'superannuated,' he reached Halifax. There he remained a few weeks, and then set off for his distant station at Cumberland.

At the Conference of 1809, which was commenced on the second Friday in June, at Halifax, some important changes took place. James Mann became a supernumerary; William Black, whose family had remained at Halifax during more than twenty years, removed with them to St. John; and William Bennett took charge at Halifax. Early in the autumn, Black exchanged circuits for several weeks with Philip Munger, an American preacher stationed in Boston. Munger, in a letter to Coke, respecting the work in St. John, reported a commodious chapel, with large and attentive congregations. Through the zealous efforts of this American preacher a class was formed at Carleton, which before the end of the year numbered about twenty members. In 1810, the church in St. John suffered a serious loss through the death of John Venning, who usefully filled the offices of trustee, leader and local preacher. Mr. Venning, whom Marsden calls 'an excellent man and skilful artist,' while engaged in the erection of the tower of Trinity church, stepped one morning upon the staging, rendered slippery by a light shower of snow, fell from it to the roof, and thence to the rock below, to meet instant death. 'As he was one of those few,' adds Marsden, 'who have no cause to fear death in any shape, his mourning friends drew consolation both from the goodness of God, and his genuine and unaffected piety.'

The Conference of 1810 was held at Horton, early in June. The total membership reported from the circuits was found to be eleven hundred and fifty. Stephen Bamford, stationed at Liverpool in 1809-10-11, was not present. He had left his circuit, in May, for the New England Conference at Pittsfield, Mass., where he was ordained by Bishops Asbury and McKendree. Asbury, his countryman, heartily welcomed the 'Englishman'—

the last minister sent from the Lower Provinces for ordination in the United States. William Sutcliffe, in whose circuit, in the county of Annapolis, a revival had commenced previously to the Conference, returned at its close to prosecute his work. In September, Black reported an ingathering of 'a hundred or more members,' in Sutcliffe's field of labor, where the revival was still in progress. At the English Conference of 1810, James Priestley, a young man of talent, just received on trial for the ministry, was ordered to proceed to the Nova Scotia District. The news of his appointment gave great satisfaction to the brethren, who had been anxiously awaiting assistance. This young minister, whose fashionable appearance called forth no small amount of criticism from his seniors, was destined, through the power of his eloquence, soon to occupy a prominent place in the ranks of the provincial ministry.

A less pleasant theme demands a share of attention. 'It must needs be,' said the Head of the Church, 'that offences will come.' Persistent efforts after power and influence, put forth by men of 'worldly, low desire,' in connection with any section of the visible Church, must always involve resistance on the part of others, and thus induce unseemly antagonism. The occurrence of these strifes belongs to the history of every section of the Church; and no writer of Church history is at liberty to ignore their existence or avoid their relation, however unattractive to himself or unsatisfactory to others. The influence exercised by the Episcopalians upon the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, at this period, was calculated to excite a reasonable jealousy in the minds of the members of other, and less favored, religious bodies. In Nova Scotia, all marriage licenses were addressed to the Episcopal clergy, and could not

be used by any Methodist or Baptist minister, unless obtained by transfer, as a matter of favor, or upon some certain consideration, from the Episcopal ministry. In New Brunswick, the position of the ministers named was still more humiliating. According to a law passed by the legislature of the Province in 1791, any minister, not belonging to the Churches of England or Scotland, or to the Quakers, or to the Roman Catholic priesthood, who should 'presume to solemnize or celebrate marriage, or assist in celebrating marriage between any persons whatever,' was liable, upon conviction, to 'pay a fine to the King, not exceeding one hundred pounds, nor less than fifty pounds, and to suffer twelve months imprisonment.' This unjust law had teeth. Under their pressure a worthy Baptist minister, named Innis, spent twelve months or more in jail, for having yielded to the solicitations of a young couple, converted under his ministry, who wished him to perform the marriage ceremony at their wedding.[7] The possessors of power, like those of wealth, are seldom satisfied. The disposition of either, like that of the two daughters of the horseleach, is to cry, 'Give, give.' In accordance with this too general law, efforts to obtain a greater amount of power, at the expense of the majority of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, were put forth by the Episcopalians; and, in consequence, the Methodists were obliged, with some other religious bodies, to assume an attitude of defence.

On the recommendation of the Lieut.-Governor, Sir George Prevost, the Episcopal Bishop was sworn in a member of the Council, in 1809. It was understood that he should take no part in the administration of civil affairs, but confine his attention to matters spiritual. The appointment was in reality a long stride towards an

7. 'The Baptists of St. John, N. B.' by Rev. L. E. Bill.

Establishment, with all the objectionable features which have marked such an institution in England and in some of the British colonies. The old 'Council of Twelve' was in reality the ruling power of the country. It sat with closed doors, and its members—constituting not only the advisers of the Governor, but the Upper House of the Legislature—possessed both executive and legislative functions. Those who are familiar with the history of the struggle between the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, and the Council, who would have crushed the Academy at Pictou, for which Dr. McCulloch fought so nobly, and against such heavy odds, may have some idea of the influence which his appointment to the Council gave the Bishop, in a body composed almost wholly of influential adherents of his own Church. During the same year, 1809, Sir George Prevost wrote to the Secretary of State, recommending that a part of the 'Arms fund,' composed of sums voted at different times for the purchase of arms for the militia, and amounting to nearly three thousand pounds, should be used for the purpose of building and repairing churches of the Establishment in remote and poor parishes, and enlarging King's College at Windsor. With this modest recommendation the Lords of the Treasury saw fit to comply; and, during the ensuing summer placed the fund at the disposal of the Governor and Council, by whom seven hundred pounds were given to the Church of Scotland. Petitions for a share of this grant were forwarded from two congregations, having no connection with either of the favored Churches. The applications were of course received with a sarcastic smile, and the applicants were soon undeceived.

The success of this effort to appropriate provincial funds led to an attempt to secure an endowment from the same source. In 1811, the Governor was requested by

the House of Assembly to forward to the British ministry an address, asking the suspension of the quit-rents. In his correspondence with the Secretary, Sir George Prevost, whose ideas of justice were strangely perverted, as those of others have too often been, by his regard for the Episcopal Church, recommended compliance with the prayer of the petitioners, only on condition that the Assembly should make provision for the support of the Established clergy. Acting upon instructions from the Secretary of State, Sir John Sherbrooke, who had in the meantime been appointed Governor, accordingly informed the House of Assembly that the Crown would grant the suspension requested, provided the House would make a suitable allowance for the support of the clergy of the Establishment. The matter was now in the hands of the representatives of the people. They rejected the glittering bait; and, in April, 1812, resolved to address Governor Sherbrooke upon the subject. The views of the majority were expressed in 'plain English.' 'As the inhabitants of this colony,' it was said to Sir John, 'are composed of persons professing various religious sentiments, all of whom, since the first settlement of this Province, have been exempt from yielding any support to the Church of England, except such as profess to be members of that Church, the House of Assembly, anxiously desirous of preserving harmony among all denominations of Christians, cannot agree to make provision for the clergy of the Church of England out of the public treasury, or in any way raise money by taxes on other classes of Christians for the support of that Church.'[8] Language so clear could not be misunderstood, and the unjust attempt to secure from the provincial revenues an endowment for the clergy of the Episcopal Church, whose adherents did not number one third of the inhabitants of the province,

[8] Murdoch's 'History of Nova Scotia,' vol. 3, p. 321–325.

and who were already in possession of large quantities of lands, given by the legislature, was never repeated.

The large majority of Episcopalians in the Council and House of Assembly of New Brunswick placed the revenues of that province virtually under the control of the Episcopal Church. 'The public purse, which belongs to Dissenters as well as Churchmen,' said a minister who arrived from Scotland in 1817, 'is always open when one, two or three hundred pounds are wanted by a few individuals in any part of the province to build an Episcopal church.' To all appeals for similar assistance from other quarters a deaf ear was turned by the Council, who constituted themselves 'defenders of the faith.' In February, 1814, the House of Assembly adopted the report of a committee of that body, advising that the sum of one hundred pounds should be granted to His Honor the President, to enable him to assist the trustees of the Germain Street Methodist Church in discharging a debt of eight hundred pounds on that 'handsome and commodious' building; but, a fortnight later, the Council informed the House of their rejection of that item of supply. The power to open or close the public chest at will did not, however, give unalloyed satisfaction. The successful ministry of Marsden and the subsequently-appointed preachers; the completion of the new church; and the institution of the Sabbath-school, were all indicative of an energy which would soon lead its possessors to overleap the barriers imposed by narrow-minded bigotry. Impelled by a spirit of jealousy, a direct, bitter and prolonged attack, led on, it was believed, by the Episcopal clergy of St. John and the Attorney General of the province, was made upon the Methodists, through the columns of the 'Gazette,' by the publication, in the spring of 1810, of a series of articles, most of which

were copied from an American periodical. In these, the exclusive claims of the Episcopal branch of the Church to a monopoly of agency in the Master's work were advanced in a most unqualified and offensive manner. Black and his friends desired to meet the attack through the columns of the 'Gazette;' but the publisher of that paper demanded so large a sum for the insertion of replies to insulting articles, published without charge, that Black took the pulpit in defence of the principles and practices of the Church in which he held an official position. Like the Australian weapon, which, in its rebound, is said to strike the unpracticed thrower, this attack only injured those by whom it was commenced.

Happily, Black's work during his two years residence in St. John was not wholly that of defence. Letters written by him at that period contain reference to several persons who obtained peace with God under his ministry. One of these was a young woman whom the Spirit had tenderly led. A year or two after her conversion she removed to Fredericton, as the wife of Thomas Taylor, whose name, during his shorter life, obtained a good report among the Methodists of that and the adjoining circuits. At the time of her removal to Fredericton, the small church—commenced several years previously, but only a short time finished—was closed, except when a preacher from abroad came to spend a Sabbath or two with the little flock. Soon after her arrival at her new home, Mrs. Taylor, and her friend, Miss Dayton, commenced a Sabbath-school, which, small and feeble at its beginning, has grown and prospered so as to prove a most valuable nursery for the Church at home and abroad. The successful efforts of this Christian woman to lead others to Christ were gratefully acknowledged by several who crossed the tide before herself. The hour

for the departure of the last survivor of 'the little band that had met at the widow Blair's some sixty-one years before' came in 1873. Her final distinct utterance was in accordance with her profession from the day, when under Black's ministry the Holy Spirit had assured her of acceptance; 'I am saved by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.' Faint words respecting the union of her family and herself hereafter, through 'Him who loved us,' followed, and she ceased to speak on earth, save with her God. [9]

In the spring of 1811, the members of the churches at Fredericton, Nashwaak, Sheffield and the Grand Lake, were like sheep without a shepherd. For a short time they had had the pastoral care of a worthy minister. This was Joseph Alexander, an Englishman, and by early training, a Baptist. [10] In London he had met and married a Miss Saunders, the daughter of a lady whose religious life had commenced under Black's ministry in Newfoundland, where her husband, a merchant, then resided. Alexander lived for a time at St. Kitt's, whence, through the unhealthiness of the climate, he removed to the United States, where he acted as a local preacher. Through Black, it is said, he was induced to remove to the provinces, where he was received into the itinerancy and sent to Fredericton. He had but commenced his work in that circuit when a disorder of the liver seized him, and terminated his life at the early age of thirty-four. Through the Minutes of 1811 his brethren afford the brief but important information that 'his end was triumphant,' He was very soon followed into the eternal world by the leader at Fredericton, the tried and worthy Duncan Blair. The societies in that neighbor-

[9] 'Wesleyan,' June 11, 1873.

[10] In the Minutes he is erroneously called James Alexander.

hood had grown up around Mr. Blair. His house had been a home for the ministers, and a sanctuary for their congregations; and when the few associated with him at Fredericton had resolved to erect a small church, he had given the land, and his hands had done a good share of the work. His faithful and persevering efforts render him worthy of grateful rememberance by the membership of the Methodist church in Fredericton. Mary Blair, an excellent woman, survived her husband a number of years.

In accordance with a request preferred by Black at the Conference of 1810, the name of that honored minister was placed on the Minutes of 1811, as a supernumerary on the Liverpool circuit. At the close of the Conference of 1811 he removed to Liverpool, in the place of Bamford, appointed to St. John, and took the full charge of the circuit. At the end of the Conference year he settled in Halifax, which continued to be his home throughout life. Bennett, in 1812, was appointed General Superintendent in his room. Black continued, however, from that time to the period of his decease to render many and important services to the Church.

In April, 1812, a youthful minister, whose utterances were to be 'the savour of life unto life,' to many in the Lower Provinces, landed at Halifax. This was William Croscombe. The details of his conversion and entrance into the ministry will be interesting to those by whom he is still remembered. He was a native of Tiverton, in the county of Devon, whence, very soon after his birth, in 1787, his parents removed to Bideford. There the first twenty years of his life were spent. His parents, though not professors of religion, were attendants at a Nonconformist place of worship. Through the conversation of a pious school-mistress with some of her

visitors, he was induced to ask himself, when between six and eight years of age, whether he were a 'believer.' From his ability to repeat the Apostle's Creed, he thought himself prepared to give a satisfactory answer, and 'found his mind much quieted thereby.' None gave a word of counsel to the youth, and the 'tenderness of conscience and the sincere desire to be good' soon passed away. At eight years of age he became an inmate of an uncle's house. The uncle, a man who feared God, though he did not walk in the light of His countenance, took care that all the members of his household should attend public worship on the Lord's day; yet residence beneath his roof was not favorable to the best interests of his nephew. The conversation of the workmen in the uncle's establishment did the young man much harm. For years after his conversion their language and example proved a powerful source of temptation. Through all his sinfulness, he was not, however, forsaken by the Spirit of God. In 1805, a regiment of militia from the north of Cornwall was sent to Bideford, for drill. Among the men were a few Methodists, who attracted the attention of their comrades by their refusal to go through their military exercises on the Lord's day, by their reproof of sin, and their invitation of sinners to Christ. To a prayer-meeting, held by these, and the four or five 'solitary Methodists' resident at Bideford, young Croscombe was invited, to assist in singing. A 'very young' man went forward at the first meeting, and gave out a hymn. The act touched the heart of the listener. 'This young man's privileges,' he said to himself, 'cannot have been much greater than mine; he is not much older than myself; but he has profited by his privileges to such a a degree that his fathers in the Lord encourage him to go forward, while I am still a sinful wretch, posting the

downward road to destruction, and a reproach to my religious connexions.' These reflections led him to weep, and to resolve upon immediate reformation. Without delay he left his evil companions, and commenced to pray, and to read his Bible. The guidance of a single Christian friend might then have led him to Christ; but in the absence of such, the erroneous supposition, that merely to 'cease to do evil, and to learn to do well,' in the application of that counsel to the outward life, would result in salvation, caused him to relapse into sin. At the age of twenty, dislike of his uncle's business led him to try a seafaring life. A short experience on ship-board, with a wicked captain, and a crew of 'most degraded wretches,' who found cause for merriment in his sickness and sufferings; and an extremely narrow escape from death while aloft and taking in sail, led him to return on shore at Portsea. That place, where for a time he followed evil companions into greater depths of sin, became the place of his deliverance from its power. During a severe illness, resulting from a cold taken on a Sabbath excursion in 1808, he had time for reflection. Experience taught him how little could be done for him by his companions in evil; and words which occurred in a letter from his uncle were so impressed upon his soul as to lead him to feel and weep over his sins. As he searched the Scriptures, with a resolution to seek forgiveness, if he could learn that 'one sinner as bad as himself' ever found mercy, he became convinced that salvation could only be obtained through the atonement of Christ. All his wants now seemed to be comprehended in two petitions; 'Lord, teach me,' and 'Lord, save me.' These requests he urged 'almost incessantly' for a fortnight, meanwhile yielding up his heart 'as much as possible' to the influences of the

Spirit, and striving to believe as directed. One Saturday, an inward impression led him to resolve to attend a Methodist prayer-meeting on the following morning. Weak as he was, he reached the chapel before the door was opened. During that service, as he responded with the utmost earnestness to the prayers offered, and endeavored with all his heart to believe the promises, the longed-for light broke upon him. 'I arose from my knees' he says, 'lightened of my load of sins and happy in His precious love.' The glowing terms in which he had heard his uncle speak of the Methodists, to whom he had been introduced in Wales, had awakened a determination on the part of the nephew to unite with them whenever he should become a Christian; while the frequent debates to which he had listened, between his Calvinist relative on the one part and several Methodists on the other, had made him a thorough Arminian in sentiment. Without hesitation, therefore, he cast in his lot with those among whom he first clearly learned of Christ.

Not less interesting are the steps by which the Head of the Church guided one, afterwards so useful, into the ranks of the ministry. Through the advice of Christian friends, and with the help of his uncle, he commenced business at Torrington. Soon after his removal thither he yielded to the importunity of a friend, and gave a short exhortation. Other requests of the same kind followed, which he dared not refuse. In a short time, his Sabbaths were fully occupied at Torrington and some of the neighboring villages. By some persons, who feared that though his youth, and his lively disposition reproach might be brought upon the work, his career was reported in an unfriendly spirit to the superintendent of the circuit. Mr. Sleep requested him to preach in his presence, and at the close of the sermon bade him go forth

and preach 'whenever, and wherever, he could.' The spirit of persecution, so prevalent at Torrington as to prevent his success in business, led him to accept an invitation to remove to Oakhampton, which had been given up by the itinerants as 'an unfruitful spot.' There, and at a village three or four miles distant, he gathered the few scattered sheep, formed them into two classes and preached four times in each week. At Oakhampton he first began a course of systematic study. His books were few and his surroundings altogether unfavorable for their use; he therefore sought elsewhere a place for quiet thought and preparation for his work. 'My place of study,' he tells us, 'was the churchyard about a mile from the town. Here I brought my thinking powers under proper control, which I found to be a task of some difficulty. My object in these exercises was to obtain ideas and arrangement. I had generally some two or three texts of Scripture in hand. I earnestly prayed for the Holy Spirit's assistance, and then proceeded on my work with delight. Many were the happy hours I spent in this sequestered and solemn place.'

A singular concurrence of circumstances first suggested to himself and others his employment in the itinerant ministry. Fearful of the results of his own inexperience, he resolved to attend the quarterly meeting at Tavistock, and place the classes he had formed under the charge of the superintendent of that circuit. He walked the fourteen miles between Oakhampton and Tavistock, and was kindly received by the minister who presided over the meeting. Two ministers from the Plymouth District, in search of a young man of promise to fill a vacancy until the next Conference, were also present. These desired to obtain the services of young

Croscombe, but the superintendent, for reasons which he afterwards stated, opposed their request. Oakhampton was taken into the circuit, the name of the youth placed on the circuit plan, and a promise of the superintendent to give him all the assistance in his power was faithfully carried out. In March, 1810, the members of the quarterly meeting unanimously recommended him to the Conference for the ministry, and stated their willingness to receive him for the first year. He was accepted and sent to the Shepton-Mallet circuit.

At the meeting of the Bristol District, in 1811, no immediate answer was given to the usual question; 'Do any of our junior preachers offer themselves for the missionary work?' At the close, however, of a conversation on the subject on the following day, William Croscombe, through the influence of Samuel Bradburn, offered himself for the foreign field; and, through the advice of Thomas Pinder, expressed a preference for Nova Scotia. By the end of September, when the arrangements of the Committee were completed, the vessels bound for Nova Scotia had sailed; he was therefore ordered, with Richard Taylor, to take passage in a vessel bound for Newfoundland. While detained at Portsmouth by contrary winds he ventured on shore at some distance from the ship. During his absence the wind became fair, and his utmost efforts to reach or intercept the vessel proved fruitless. She had sailed for America, carrying with her all his clothing and money. After remaining several weeks in suspense, and receiving a sharp reproof from the Secretary of the Missionary Committee, he was sent to a circuit in the Isle of Wight, to await further orders. In the meantime, the Diadem, in which he had taken passage, had been driven back to Ireland by storms. Early in February, 1812, he was

ordered to the Cove of Cork, whence she was to sail. After having suffered extreme anxiety through the rigid economy of the Committee, and the delay from contrary winds, he once more stood upon her deck. Fair winds wafted them across the Atlantic with such rapidity that in the course of eleven days they obtained soundings on the edge of the Banks of Newfoundland. Very soon an iceberg was announced; and in a short time the vessel was surrounded by broken ice of all sizes. One piece broke the rudder; another stove the boat at the stern. While thus situated, a heavy gale threatened them with destruction. 'Driven with the wind and tossed,' the bow of the vessel soon became a wreck. 'She must go down! The Lord have mercy upon us!' was the general cry. The missionaries implored Divine protection, and then rose from their knees in quiet dependence upon Him who 'holds the seas in the hollow of His hand.' On deck all was consternation. Each concussion seemed like a death-blow; and each individual appeared to be awaiting with dread expectation the arrival of the fatal moment. In this extremity the captain resolved to place the cables over the sides of the vessel, on the part most exposed to this action of the ice. The last was laid over the side, in place of that cut in pieces, when the gale began to abate. On the morning of the second day land was seen, but was only reached after twelve days further imprisonment in the ice. Two vessels were known, and many others were supposed, to have foundered among the icebergs during the gale. On the 10th of April, Croscombe went ashore at St. John's, and a few days later took passage in a schooner for Halifax.

After some delay, caused by the ice on the coast, which drove the vessel back to St. John's, Croscombe proceeded on his way to Nova Scotia; and on the 29th

of April, weary of the wretched accommodation of the vessel, landed near midnight at Halifax, to seek a resting-place on shore. A friendly guide directed him to his first home in Nova Scotia, at the house of Hugh Bell. The young missionary had asked himself as he approached the coast, 'What reception shall I meet with? Will they receive me kindly, or will they frown upon my youth and inexperience?' During the course of a few days spent in Halifax his questionings recived a happy solution. Nearly twenty years later, when transcribing the earlier portion of his journal, in his study at Quebec, he wrote, 'Language fails to describe the affection and kindness with which I was received by the dear friends at Halifax. The very name and locality of the place convey a charm more powerful than music to my heart. Subsequently, the whole province became deeply engraved on the tablet of my grateful remembrance.'

In company with Priestley, he proceeded to Granville, where the Conference of 1812 was to take place early in June. Croscombe, whose boyish appearance attracted much attention, preached several times by the way. The customs of the country were new to him, and sometimes perplexed him. At Falmouth he preached by request for the Baptists and Newlights, whose novel recognition of his services was gratefully remembered by him, when the custom which excited his kindly regard was no longer practiced. 'After service was concluded,' he says, 'I saw a tall young man going around from seat to seat with a hat in his hand, and bye-and-bye he brought the contents to me, amounting as I afterwards found to something more than thirty shillings. I seriously objected to taking it, as I had expected no such thing. It was in vain that I objected. I was urged to it by the consideration that I was a stranger, and should soon

find that myself and my horse could not be supported on the road without money. Mr. Priestley united in urging me to take it, and in fact I soon found it to be a very seasonable relief. This generous act made a strong impression on my mind, and I have always strained a point to give that people a sermon when passing through the village, if possible.'

During the sessions of the Conference, the youthful missionary received a pleasing impression of the 'piety and good sense' of the brethren with whom he was to be associated. 'The Conference,' he wrote to a friend in England, 'was indeed a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. We met together in love, and love suggested every word and action. My soul was much blessed, and my hands strengthened in the Lord's work. The people were also much quickened. I believe that many will date their conversion to God from the period of holding the Conference.' In the small Conferences of that day a committee of the whole arranged the stations. Seven only of the eleven ministers then in the Lower Provinces were present. Three of these desired that Croscombe should be sent to Shelburne; three voted in favour of his appointment to Horton. Pressed to decide the question, he gave the casting vote in favor of Horton.

But little of interest has been recorded respecting the work of God within the Conference limits, during the year 1812-13. Hardly had the ministers arrived in their respective circuits, when news reached the Provinces that on the 18th of June war had been formally declared by the United States against Great Britain. The consequences of the long continued war between England and France, which had soon succeed the patched-up peace concluded between those nations in 1801, had already been of a very serious character. The trade between the

Provinces and the West Indies had been almost annihilated; and many of the sea-faring men were dead, or languishing in foreign prisons, leaving their families dependent upon public or private charity; while the dread of impressment for the navy had driven many away, and exerted a sad influence upon the fisheries. The commencement of a war, the severest struggles of which were likely to take place on the coast of the Provinces; with the excitement of privateering, the presence of ships of war, and frequent arrival of prizes; and the demand for all that the country could produce in the shape of supplies, was adverse to progress of a religious character. Yet earnest labor was not wholly in vain. At Horton, where the people, long deprived of a regular ministry, gave Croscombe a hearty welcome, that earnest minister saw much to encourage his heart. At Newport and Windsor, then included in the Horton Circuit, some valuable results were attained. The church at the former place was composed almost wholly of persons of 'some experience,' among whom the itinerant found himself 'much at home.' 'To my latest hours,' he wrote many years later, 'the names of Allison, Lockhart, Smith and Shaw, will recall to my recollection some of my most happy, happy hours.' The unfinished church, erected in the outskirts of the village of Windsor at the close of the Conference of 1792, had been deserted by his predecessor, Priestley, who had preached in the Presbyterian church. Convinced that, in the absence of a place of worship in the village, all his efforts to advance the interests of the work committed to him must be fruitless, Croscombe secured the necessary means by personal appeal, and then removed the building to the spot where it continued to stand, until supersed by the present church. An improvement in the congregations soon rewarded his efforts.

Little improvement had been made in Prince Edward Island, under the ministry of James Bulpit. The failure of the Missionary Committee to recall him at the close of the stipulated period of three years had caused dissatisfaction on his part; and the subsequent gift of half of a town lot, on which he had built a dwelling, made him desirous to avoid such connexion with the Provincial Conference as would render him liable to removal to the circuits on the mainland. He took no notice of the arrangements for the Conferences, of which his brethren year by year kept him informed; and maintained, virtually, the position of an independent minister, as he to some extent had done in Newfoundland. Rumors from time to time reached his brethren in the other provinces, which led them to fear the renewal of the habit which had been developed in his previous colonial residence. These rumors received confirmation from English Methodists who reached the island in 1810. Under such circumstances, it is not strange that a nominal return of fifty members appeared in the Minutes for a succession of years. The presence of occasional visitors cheered the little band of members who still placed a high estimate upon those social means of grace, concerning which their pastor spoke lightly. John Black, of River Philip, visited the island in the spring of 1810, on business, and preached several times to overflowing congregations. In the autumn of the same year, James Knowlan, then stationed at Cumberland, crossed the Straits, and spent two or three weeks at Charlottetown and elsewhere.

The Conference of 1813 was held at Halifax, early in June. The business was transacted in great harmony. The holy calm and peace of the Conference Sabbath were lessened by the excitement attending the arrival of H. M. Ship Shannon, after a bloody contest with the United States

Frigate Chesapeake, which vessel accompanied her as a prize. A visit on the following day to the latter vessel, where Captain Lawrence and several of his officers and seventy of his men had been killed, and where several other officers and nearly a hundred men lay wounded, deeply impressed the ministers with the horrors of war. At this Conference Richard Armstrong, a new laborer, was received on probation, and sent to Sheffield. Eleven hundred and eighty-two members were reported from the different circuits; and yet, in spite of a small increase in the membership, the spiritual reports were not of the most satisfactory character. Not a few lamented the 'prevailing defection of faith, and love, and zeal,' of which Black complained to Coke, in a letter written a few days after the preachers had left Halifax for their allotted fields of toil.

CHAPTER XVI.

METHODISM IN BERMUDA, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF JOHN STEPHENSON IN 1799, TO HIS DEPARTURE IN 1802.

Brief description of Bermuda. Early religious history. Berkeley's intended college. Visit of Whitefield. Duncan McColl. Captain Travise. Slavery. Correspondence of Enoch Matson and Captain Mackie with Dr. Coke, respecting a Missionary. Appointment of John Stephenson. Unexpected offer of a passage. Prejudice of Bermudians against Stephenson. Prospect of success. The gathering cloud. Stephenson summoned before a magistrate for preaching in the house of a mulatto. Passage of a Bill by the Legislature to prevent him from preaching. Insolent treatment of the Governor. Arrest of Stephenson and Peter Pallas. Trial of Stephenson. Able defence of Esten. Conviction and imprisonment of Stephenson. Offer of a release on dishonorable conditions declined. Prosecution of Pallas. Close of Stephenson's term of imprisonment. His return to Ireland, and retirement from the active ministry. His death.

At a distance of nearly eight hundred miles, directly south from Nova Scotia, lie the Bermudas, or Somers' Islands. The group occupies an isolated position in the Western Atlantic. From Cape Hatteras, the nearest point of the North American coast, they are distant upwards of six hundred miles ; while the distance between them and Great Abaco, in the Bahamas, the most Northern island of the West Indian group, is upwards of three hundred and fifty miles. The islands are formed by the rugged summit of a mountain which rises abruptly from the depths of the ocean. Ordinary soundings are lost at a short distance from the shore, except in a southwesterly direction. The peak which constitutes the Bermudas, arrives at the water level in the shape of an irregular oval, about twenty-eight miles in length, and about fourteen miles long, and at its broadest part

three and a half miles wide. A part of the circumference indicated consists of an irregular, straggling, chain of rocks, some of which are dry at low water.[1] The Bermudas, in consequence of the reefs which protect them, and the storms peculiar to the Gulf Stream, which passes near them, were for a long period an object of dread to mariners, whose imagination invested them with the presence of supernatural beings, of malignant influence.

Bermuda, as the islands collectively are called, is best known in Britain as a military fortress, on which immense sums of the national income have been spent. The beauty of the islands, better known in the United States, and in the Canadian Dominion, where they are regarded as a healthful resort for invalids, is proverbial. Without mountains or rivers, there is an absence of magnificence in the scenery, but in a quiet style of beauty they are unique. The commingling of land and water, as seen from the more prominent hills; the almost marvellous clearness of the blue waters which wash the shores of the numerous islands; the vegetation, belonging to the torrid, rather than to the temperate zone; and the profusion, at all seasons, of foliage and flowers of rare beauty, will lead the lover of the beautiful, as he gazes upon their beauty with reverent spirit, to think of the Bermudas as Chalmers thought of his favorite Scottish lake, when he wrote, 'Will there be a Loch Lomond in heaven?'

Bermuda was settled by the English, very early in the seventeenth century. The early colonists took out with them Episcopal chaplains. Soon after their arrival, they drew up and subscribed an agreement, by which they bound themselves to stand in defence of the Church

[1] 'Bermuda as it is,' by Edward James, late Surveyor General of the Bermuda Islands, 1867.

of England, against 'all Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoever, dissenting from the said word and faith.' [2] Misconduct on the part of the chaplains interfered with the fulfilment of that purpose, and of some others, of a more praiseworthy character. Respecting the misconduct of the clergy, and their carelessness in the discharge of ministerial duties among this isolated people, the Governors of the Plantation, and the historian of the Episcopal Church in the Colonies, bear no uncertain testimony.

At the close of the civil war which placed Cromwell at the head of the English government, several of the West Indian islands furnished asylums for the defeated Royalists. Some of these also reached Bermuda. About the same time several of their opponents found their way to the island, which Andrew Marvell, in verse of exquisite beauty, calls the

> 'Isle so long unknown,
> And yet far kinder than our own,
> Safe from the storm, and prelates' rage.'

The presence of these rival parties did not tend to the promotion of peace. The residence, in the islands, of two men of note in the Nonconformist ministry, Nicholas Leverton and John Oxenbridge, prepares us for the report of the authorities of the islands to a Committee of the Privy Council in 1679, that the number of Nonconformists so far exceeded that of the adherents of the Episcopal Church, that 'the influence of the latter was nearly annihilated.' According to that report, 'two-thirds of the inhabitants were Presbyterians; of the remainder, several were Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers; and the clergy of the Church, who still lingered, were either rebels against her authority, or defective and reluctant observers of it.' [3]

[2] Anderson's 'History of the Church in the Colonies,' vol. 1, p. 300.

[3] Ib. vol. 2, p. 333.

The ascendancy in numbers thus lost by the Episcopal Church, was, in all probability, only regained through the efforts of the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' which received its charter in 1700. Dr. Bray, in his memorial, written in that year, states that there was then in the island but one Episcopal clergyman, who barely subsisted, while three others were needed. Upon the formation of the Society, Bermuda at once became an important object of its peculiar care.

About twenty-five years later, the attention of the religious public of Britain was directed to Bermuda, in consequence of the scheme of George Berkeley—then Dean of Derry, and afterwards Bishop of Cloyne—for the establishment of a college in the islands, at which young men belonging to America might be trained to go forth as missionaries among the settlers and the natives of the American continent. While this scheme, proposed in 1725 by Berkeley, led him to be looked upon as a brain-sick visionary by some, and to be made a butt for their ridicule, by others, his acts showed him to be at least thoroughly in earnest. Large sums having been subscribed in aid of the proposed college by private individuals, and still larger sums having been promised by the British Government, Berkeley resigned a valuable living and embarked for the new world, to purchase lands for the intended college, and to make arrangements for its foundation. Having landed at Newport, Rhode Island, he remained there two years, awaiting the fulfilment of the promises made by the British Government. At last, Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, succeeded in obtaining an interview with Walpole, the Prime Minister, and in eliciting a definite answer to Berkeley's question respecting the payment of the twenty thousand pounds promised him in

behalf of the college. 'If you put this question to me as a Minister,' said Sir Robert, 'I must, and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience; but,' he added, 'if you ask me as a friend whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of twenty thousand pounds, I advise him by all means to return home, and to give up his present expectations.' This answer, worthy of the statesman who professed to act upon the principle that 'every man has his price,' was conclusive; and Berkeley returned to England without a sight of the island, on some pleasant spot in which it had been his purpose by day, and his dream by night, to build and endow the college of St. Paul's.

Interested in a place to which Berkeley had given such prominence, and attracted by its climate, George Whitfield left the American continent, and landed at Bermuda, in 1748. His reception was all that he could wish. The governor, in consequence of instructions to let none preach in the churches of the islands without a written licence to preach in some part of America or the West Indies, could not permit the churches to be placed at his disposal; but went to hear him at the Town Hall of St. Georges, invited him to dine at his residence, and assured him of his good-will. Several of the members of the Council welcomed him to their homes, and a number of gentleman opened their houses for the preaching of the Gospel. During the ten or twelve weeks spent by him in Bermuda he was not idle. He preached frequently in all the parishes, and occupied a number of times the pulpit of Mr. Paul, the aged Presbyterian minister at Warwick, whose eldest son he visited during his illness, and afterwards buried. On two occasions he also preached in the open air to congregations of nearly

fifteen hundred persons, many of whom were slaves. He was treated as a brother by Mr. Haliday, the Episcopal minister at Spanish Point, who, before the Governor's instructions respecting the churches had been made public, had opened two of them for him. Whitefield preached his farewell sermon in the Presbyterian church at Warwick, on Sabbath, May 15th, and at the close of that day wrote in his journal, 'Surely a great work is begun in some souls at the Bermudas. Carry it on, O Lord! and if it be thy will, send me to this dear people again.' Detained in the islands a little longer, by the uncertain movements of a sailing-vessel, he improved to the utmost the additional days. 'I have conversed,' he wrote, in summing up his work in the islands, 'with souls loaded with a sense of their sins, and, as far as I can judge, really pricked to the heart. * * * * Indeed, the fields are white, ready unto the harvest. God has been pleased to bless private visits. Go where I will, upon the least notice, houses are crowded, and the poor souls that follow are soon dissolved in tears. * * * * Abundance of prayers and blessings were put up for my safe passage to England, and speedy return to Bermuda. * * * Thanks be to the Lord for sending me hither. I have been received in a manner I dared not expect, and have met with little, very little opposition, indeed.' At his departure, the inhabitants gave tangible proof of their attachment by loading him with provisions, and by presenting him with a voluntary contribution of more than one hundred pounds sterling for his Orphan House. 'I hear,' he wrote, 'that what was given, was given exceedingly heartily, and people only lamented that they could do no more.' [4]

[4] Philip's 'Life and Times of Whitefield.

Whitfield never returned to Bermuda, nor did any minister capable of continuing the work he had begun follow him to the islands. Occasional visits, however, from persons who, while visiting the islands on purposes of business, were not forgetful of the obligations imposed by the Gospel upon all who have been blessed through its agency, kept the spirit of religion alive in certain limited circles. Among the three hundred passengers who reached St. George's, in December, 1783, in the vessel owned by Philip Marchinton, and driven from the coast of Nova Scotia by a severe storm, was Duncan McColl, who afterwards became the apostle of Methodism at St. Stephen, N. B. McColl, who had previously been converted, held his peace for sometime, but from conversation with several Methodists who had taken passage with Marchinton, he resolved in February, to speak publicly to his fellow-passengers. A few years later he met in Nova Scotia several persons who traced their conversion to his addresses in Bermuda. There is also reason to believe that McColl's words were accompanied by a Divine influence to the hearts of a few residents of the quaint old town, to which, against his will, he had been driven by the tempest. Subsequently to McColl's visit, Captain Travise, a zealous Methodist of Baltimore, called at the islands several times, and used every opportunity of visiting from house to house, and holding meetings for prayer and exhortation. The efforts of the zealous captain met with the approbation of many, who in attendance at his meetings found a blessing.

Whitfield, who had pleaded before the trustees of Georgia for the introduction of slaves, on the ground of the 'advantage of the Africans,' touched lightly, if at all, upon the subject of slavery, during his short ministry in the Bermudas. Yet this giant evil, more than any other,

or perhaps, more than all others combined, has prevented the growth of Gospel influences in those beautiful islands. There is good reason to believe that the relations between the master and the slave in Bermuda were of a much more kindly character than in the West Indies, the very name of which filled the mind of the Bermudian slave with dread; but everywhere the slave-owner has been found to look with a jealous eye upon the slightest effort to enlighten the human beings whom human law had unjustly placed among his 'goods and chattels.' In fact, the slave-owner, as a rule, affected to deny their right to be regarded as human beings. They were only esteemed by him according to the strength of their limbs, or the value of their labors.

The evil results of slavery were of a two-fold character. James Montgomery has remarked that 'a man must be destroyed, before he can immerge into a slave.' The mass of degraded, demoralized, neglected, manhood, which surrounded the owners and their families, exerted upon them, in turn, a sad influence. Strong faith, of the character which laughs at impossibilities, was required by those, who, recognizing in this mass of degraded men souls for whom Christ died, went down among them, in defiance of all opposing influences, to raise them to the stature of men. When men had been found to make the effort, and their influence, weak at the first, had become so strong as to lead the British government to break the bonds of the slaves throughout their colonies, an eminent Bermudian wrote, 'Happy had it been for these favored isles, favored in climate, and most attractive in beauty, if the foot of slavery had never stalked over the land. As mercy is said to be twice blessed, so slavery is twice cursed—a curse to the master, and a curse to the slave.' [5]

[5] James Christie Esten, Esq., LL.D.

To prepare the enslaved for earthly freedom, and then for heavenly rest, was in part the work which Coke had in view, when in 1789 he sought in Britain a man 'meet for the Master's use' in Bermuda. To this search he was prompted by communications from two different quarters. Mr. Mackie, the master of His Majesty's Ship Thetis, then on the Halifax station, called by duty to the islands, first appealed to him. 'For my own part,' wrote Mr. Mackie, 'I believe that a good, judicious preacher might be the means, by the blessing of God, of doing much good here, not only among the blacks, but among the white people also. Many thousands of people are in the islands, but very few are found to instruct them, or give them advice concerning their salvation. Bermuda is divided into nine parishes, but at present there are only three clergymen, and one of them is a very bad character. Another of these is an old invalid, who has done no duty for a considerable time, and the other is only a mere moral preacher; so that Mr. Matson, who is a Presbyterian, appears to stand alone in the important work of the ministry; and his constitution is so much impaired, that he can scarcely go through his own regular duties. From what I have seenof the people who attend Mr. Matson's meeting, I think a missionary would be kindly received by them, provided he were a judicious and prudent man.' After a reference to the favorable reception of Captain Travise, as a proof of the disposition of the people towards Methodism, Captain Mackie added; 'Respecting the expenses of the mission I can say nothing; but as a stranger, I have found great marks of friendship among the people; more so than in most other places I have visited. Most of the white people can read, and many among them have had a good education. And as to singing, they are in general fond

of church music, so that there will be very little trouble to lead them to this branch of church worship. Should you be instrumental in spreading the Gospel through these islands, it will add lustre to that glorious crown which is prepared for all the faithful servants of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. [6]

Enoch Matson, to whom reference was made by the naval officer, wrote about the same time to Dr. Coke, upon the same subject. Mr. Matson was not a stranger to the Doctor. He had entered the Methodist ministry in the United States, in 1781, but for reasons which have not been stated, his brethren had seen fit, seven years later, to separate him from themselves. He soon after visited Bermuda, and accepted a call to the pastorate of the Presbyterian church at Warwick. During a long residence in that parish, he sustained a good reputation as a preacher, and a high character as a man. It is said that the opposition awakened in his congregation by his admission of the sexton of his church, a worthy colored man, to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, led him to look upon the Methodists, as alone able to accomplish in Bermuda what they had accomplished by the preaching of the Gospel to the slaves in the West Indies.

The earlier letters of Mr. Matson and Captain Mackie were lost in consequence of the capture, by the French, of the vessel in which they had been sent. Captain Mackie, on his arrival at Spithead, in November, 1798, re-copied his letter, and sent it to Dr. Coke, with some additional observations upon the necessity and importance of the proposed mission. In the meantime, Mr. Matson had again written to the Doctor, who, from subsequent correspondence with him, had concluded to send a missionary to Bermuda as soon as possible.

[6] Coke's 'History of the West Indies,' Vol. 3, p. 235.

Several months elapsed before a suitable person could be found. At length, John Stephenson offered his services. Stephenson was a native of Ireland. In his youth he had heard and embraced the Gospel. After having filled for several years the position of local preacher, with general acceptance and a good degree of usefulness, he had been sent as an itinerant to the Killybegs circuit. For ten years he had continued to travel in his native country, preaching the Gospel faithfully and successfully. He was now about fifty years old. His mature age, and long-tried piety, zeal and prudence, led Dr. Coke to regard him as in every way suited to undertake the new and difficult mission. He therefore gladly accepted Stephenson's offer.

While engaged in preparations for the mission, Dr. Coke received a pleasant surprise from an unexpected quarter. The conduct of the Methodist missionaries in the West Indies, and the loyalty of the negroes under their teaching in several of the islands, had deeply impressed the British government with the value of the Methodist missions, and with their influence upon the safety of the islands. Early, therefore, in 1799, the Secretary of the Post-Office addressed a letter to Dr. Coke, informing him that 'their Lordships had been pleased to permit Mr. James Richardson and Mr. John Stephenson, who are going as missionaries to Jamaica and Bermuda, to embark on board the packet without payment of the King's head-money.' [7]

With a certificate of his ordination, and a pass from Alderman James of Dublin, given by order of Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary of State, certifying his appointment as a missionary to Bermuda, Stephenson left Dublin early in 1799, in the British packet for New York, and

[7] Drew's 'Life of Coke,' p.300.

arrived in that city on the 16th of April. There he remained a few days, preaching occasionally, and preparing for his further voyage to Bermuda. After a short and pleasant voyage he reached his destination on the 10th of May.

Stephenson's path was at once beset with difficulties. The fact that he was from Ireland was soon circulated to his disadvantage. His connection with Wesley, whose latest letter is said to have been called forth by his sympathy with Wilberforce in his efforts to abolish slavery, did not tend to abate prejudice. The panic which, nearly forty years before, had followed the discovery of a plot among the Bermudian slaves to rise and murder the whites, had not been forgotten. The arrival of a Methodist minister from Ireland, so lately the scene of a bloody rebellion, suggested to the more ignorant portion of the inhabitants fears of rebellious lessons to the large slave population. So strong were some in their suspicions, that not a few protested against permission being granted him to land. Attempts to prevent his going on shore would probably have been made, had not a magistrate, standing on the quay, prudently dispelled the gathering storm. 'Surely,' said the magistrate, 'you will not banish a man before you know who he is, and what is his crime.' 'Oh,' was the reply, 'he is an Irishman, a rebel, and a Methodist; and will put all kinds of evil into the minds of the blacks.' 'There are many things imported into Bermuda,' quietly rejoined the magistrate, 'that will put more evil into their minds than he will. One puncheon of rum will put more evil into their minds than ever he will do all the days of his life. And if he has a good method with him, I am sure we want it here, and therefore we will not banish

him until we hear him.' The prejudices of the crowd were for a time dispelled by these words from the lips of a magistrate, and Stephenson was permitted, without hindrance, to land. The magistrate, who in this trying hour assisted him, continued to be a sincere friend, and made use of his influence to promote the cause of Christ. [8]

As soon as possible, Stephenson waited upon the Governor, Beckwith, showed him his credentials, informed him of his purpose, and requested permission to take the oath of allegiance, and to qualify himself in any way required by law. The Governor informed him that there was no necessity for such qualification; that he knew that His Majesty allowed liberty of conscience; and that he also knew that Mr. Wesley and his people were always peaceable and loyal subjects. He seemed quite satisfied with the credentials produced, and in reference to the document given by order of Lord Castlereagh, remarked; 'That is a very important paper, Mr. Stephenson; keep it safely.'

Under the supposed sanction of the Governor, Stephenson began his mission in his own hired house near Hamilton. Few attended for a time. Of these, several listened in a spirit of opposition. During the autumn, however, a marked change in the size and spirit of his congregation took place. 'Some time ago,' wrote the encouraged missionary, during the month of December, 'I met with every opposition except blows. * * * But, blessed be God, notwithstanding this opposition, I have joined fifty-nine members in society, all of whom are white people; and very soon I hope to augment the number. Many of the more respectable people are rising on my side, and the family of one magistrate have

[8] Coke's "History of the West Indies," vol. 3, p. 238.

all joined the society. We already find it necessary to erect a chapel, and have taken some steps toward the accomplishment of our object. A subscription has been set on foot; the above family have subscribed thirty pounds toward it; a young gentleman has given us an acre of ground, with all the trees upon it; and others have come forward with such liberality, that we have already the promise of two hundred and twenty pounds, and a prospect of getting more. In another part of the island we rent another house, besides this which I occupy; in that we shall immediately fix the pulpit and the seats, so that very shortly I hope things will assume the appearance of order, and be kept in a state of actual regulation. In our class-meetings several have declared what God has done for their souls, and expressed their gratitude with tears of joy. Others are earnestly seeking the inestimable blessing which these have found, and are longing to rejoice in the salvation of God.' In the early part of the year 1800, the prospect seemed still brighter. In April, the membership of the society had increased to one hundred and four, thirty of whom were people of color. The congregations had also increased, and the amount subscribed towards the erection of the church had reached the sum of three hundred pounds, Bermudian currency.

It is worthy of note that this success had not been attained by any sacrifice of principle to expediency. In the prosecution of his work among the colored people, Stephenson had felt the necessity, in the presence of strong prejudices, of caution in all his movements. 'I intend,' he wrote in December, 1799, 'doing what I can among the whites at first, and I trust that God has directed me. If I had begun to collect the blacks when I first came to the island, I should have raised the whole

body of the people against me; especially as at these times they view me as a rebel. This suspicion, however, is wearing away fast.' While he had used caution in his movements, it is evident that he had not hesitated to reprove prevalent evils, or to call them by their proper names. 'My predecessor,' says Marsden, 'was a plain, blunt, honest, man of the old school. He boldly denounced sin, and preached against prostitution, polygamy, and other forms of evil. Whether a sin were deep-rooted, long-established, or grafted upon the stalk of profit and interest, was to him of little moment; he made war upon it in the boldest manner.'

At the very period, when, in the spring of the year 1800, Stephenson informed Coke of his success and his prospects, a cloud larger than 'a man's hand,' was gathering blackness over his head. It is possible that a lack of the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove, in their proper proportions, may have led the earnest Irishman to the adoption of a course of conduct calculated to precipitate the bursting of the cloud. Some of the earlier Methodists of Bermuda thought so. 'I was acquainted,' wrote the Hon. Stowe Wood, a member of the first board of trustees of the Methodist church at Hamilton, to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, in 1816, 'with all your missionaries who have visited these islands, from Mr. Stephenson down; and exceedingly regret that the prejudice—originating in that worldly spirit which is enmity to Christianity—to the labors of Mr. Wesley and his successors, hindered me from being more intimate with the former than I was. I heard him preach once, and was edified by his doctrine, as the whole congregation appeared to be; and had he united the wisdom of the serpent to his innocence, I really believe he would have

avoided the persecution he underwent; but he appeared to suffer his zeal to swallow up his meekness, and was not of the disposition calculated to overcome the prejudice which rested in the minds of the people against the Methodists.'

The opportunity for which Stephenson's enemies had waited soon presented itself. A sermon preached in the house of a mulatto, named Socco, furnished the desired pretext. An itinerant portrait-painter, named Green, who had accumulated a little money, and had obtained the position of magistrate in Devonshire parish, summoned Stephenson before him. The prisoner was charged with the grievous crimes of preaching in the house of a mulatto; of shaking hands with the blacks; of gathering them for public worship; and of exciting prejudice against the ministers of the Established Church, by the remark that no man was called of God to the ministry who preached the Gospel for silver and gold. Stephenson admitted the justice of the charges, but stated in defence, that he could not be less polite than the negroes; and that he had never detained them at his services beyond six o'clock, while they were permitted to dance all night. In reference to the last charge, he remarked that he had only used, respecting the ministry, the language of the Book of Common Prayer. At the close of the examination, the magistrate called together the principal persons in the neighborhood, to deliberate upon these serious crimes, and to prepare a petition to prevent their commission in future; and then hastened to St. George's, to place the proceedings before the Governor. [9]

Unfortunately, it was not necessary to urge upon the Governor the adoption of active measures. He had already

[9] 'Narrative of a Mission,' pp. 231-4.

shewn unmistakable signs of prejudice against Stephenson; he now called the attention of the Legislature to the missionary's movements, and on the 25th of February, 1800, recommended the Assembly to adopt such measures as would prevent him from preaching to the colored people. The members of that body proceeded to act upon the Governor's suggestions in a most effective way. On the 25th of April, a Bill was submitted to the House, 'to prevent persons pretending, or having pretended, to be ministers of the Gospel, or missionaries from any religious societies whatever, and not invested with holy orders, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, or that of Scotland, from acting as preachers.' Stephenson, who saw the purpose of the Bill, went immediately to St. George's, waited upon the Governor, and asked permission to take the oath of allegiance. The Governor treated him in the most insolent manner. 'When the bill was introduced,' says Stephenson, 'I hastened away to the Governor, and, in the presence of four or five gentlemen, I told his Excellency I humbly requested permission to take the oath of allegiance. He stood with all the pride and haughtiness of a military man, his two hands akimbo, and said with evident marks of displeasure, "Sir, you had as good go to the King's Attorney General." I went to the Attorney General, and told him what the Governor said. He replied, "Mr. Stephenson, I cannot tender any oath; it is the Governor or his Secretary that must give you the oath of allegiance." I returned, and told the Governor what he had said. His Excellency, in an angry tone, replied, "I know that, sir, as well as you, or the Attorney General." I rejoined, "Please your Excellency, shall I go and request the Attorney General to wait upon you?" "You may do for that as you please, sir," was

the reply. I hastened to the Attorney General and told him; he returned with me to the Government House, and I waited in the porch while they held a consultation. In a little while the Governor passed by me, making a low bow, with a great sweep of his arm, intimating that I might go about my business. The Attorney General, coming to the door, told me that the Governor would have nothing more to say to me; so I came off.'[10] On the 25th April, the Bill passed the Assembly with but one dissenting voice; on the 23rd of May it was concurred in by the Council; and on the following day it received the Governor's assent.[11]

The provisions of this Act were very strict. It was enacted that 'no person, not regularly invested with holy orders according to the rites of the Church of England, or the Church of Scotland, should 'be allowed to preach in these islands, any doctrine of the gospel, by writing or printing, or by speaking to, teaching or in any wise lecturing to, or exhorting any public or collected audience whatever.' The penalties attached to any violation of the law were also very severe; consisting of a fine of fifty pounds, and imprisonment for six months, without bail or mainprize. It was at the same time enacted that any person opening his dwelling for any service prohibited by this law should be subject to the same penalty as the offending preacher or teacher.

It was scarcely possible, in a small isolated group of islands, not more than twenty-four miles in length, for the minister, directly aimed at by this law, to carry out the letter of his Lord's injunction, 'When they persecute

[10] Stephenson's MS., quoted by Marsden, 'Narrative of a Mission,' p. 245.

[11] Williams' 'History of Bermuda,' p. 106. The member of the Assembly who dared, 'singly and alone,' to stand up for freedom to worship God, was Richard J. Peniston, Esq.

you in one city flee ye to another.' He consulted with the members of his flock. They found it difficult to decide upon the course to be pursued. A fine of fifty pounds, with imprisonment for six months in a warm climate, constitutes a strong temptation to confer with flesh and blood. All objections, were however, overruled by Messrs. Pallas and Cameron, two of the members, who declared themselves ready to run all risks that the Word of God might not be bound. Stephenson, not feeling himself under any obligation to obey a law so hostile to the spirit of toleration in Britain, did as the Apostles on a similar occasion; and on Sabbath, June 15th, preached in the morning in the house of Mr. Cameron, and in that of Mr. Pallas, a silversmith of Hamilton, in the afternoon.

Little time was lost by those who had resolved to put a seal upon the lips of the fearless preacher. A man who had attended the service held in the house of Mr. Pallas gave information to George Harvey, Esq., who immediately lodged a complaint with the Mayor of Hamilton, Daniel Tucker, Esq, by whom, on the 23rd, a warrant was issued for the apprehension of John Stephenson and Peter Pallas. On the afternoon of that day, Stephenson was seized at the house of Thomas Nichols, at Somerset. He left his friends in tears, and in the custody of the constables reached Hamilton the same afternoon. A large number were assembled to witness his committal. The examination of himself, and his friend Pallas, took place before the Mayor, and three other Justices, Bascombe, Harvey and Stow. Stephenson refused to submit to an unconstitutional Act; and demanded to be allowed to take the oath of allegiance, and to be tried by English law. Mr. Pallas and he were then given in charge of the constables, who 'thrust them into an in-

ner room.' In this room, without a bed, they were detained until ten the next morning, when they were placed in a boat, and, under a strong guard of constables, carried to the close and unhealthy prison at St. Georges.[12]

On the ninth day after imprisonment, Mr Pallas accepted bail and left the prison. His fellow-prisoner had at first resolved to remain in the jail until December, the month fixed for his trial; but the injurious influence of close confinement during the warmest season of the year; the enormous expense attending his imprisonment; and the hope that, by private visitation of the membership, he might still benefit them; as well as the wish to promote the success of a petition to be forwarded to the King, praying him to refuse his assent to the Act, led him to reconsider his resolution. At the end of fifteen days he also accepted bail, and left the prison.

By an American journal of that day, the law under which Stephenson had been committed to prison was said to be 'a law only descriptive of the depravity of morals, and the despotism of the government under which it exists.' By many Bermudians it was felt to be a deep disgrace. At the time, but one Episcopal minister officiated in the eight parishes of the islands, and but one Presbyterian minister, at the kirk at Warwick. These were accustomed to preach only once on the Lord's day, and seldom, if ever, during the week. Conscious of the disgrace inflicted upon the colony by the passage of a law contrary to justice and reason, the grand jury, in June 1800, presented the Act as a violation of the rights of the subject. Five hundred signatures of respectable parties were in a short time appended to a petition to be forwarded to England, asking its disallowance. This petition, with a memorial of the same tenor, was present-

[12] 'History of the West Indies,' p. 243.

ed by Dr. Coke to His Majesty in Council, early in December, 1806. Polite letters were forwarded to the Doctor in reply, but no action was taken during that or the following year. After the lapse of nearly three years, the Act, in consequence of receiving no attention from the British Government, died a natural death.[13]

In the meantime, the authors of the Act found ample opportunity to carry out their base purposes to the farthest extent. On the 6th of December, Stephenson was arraigned before the Supreme Court. The Attorney General conducted the prosecution; James C. Esten, Esq., one of the ablest lawyers of St. George's, and afterwards Chief Justice of Bermuda, volunteered to defend the prisoner. Two witnesses were called by the prosecution. One of these, under oath, affirmed that after the passage of the law 'the defendant had been seen with a prayer-book in his hands; that he had also read prayers, and sung psalms to a congregation.' This mode of worship had not been practiced by Stephenson at any time, while in Bermuda. The other witness affirmed that the prisoner

[13] Charles C. F. Greville, Secretary of Council, in his 'Journal of the Reigns of George the Fourth and William the Fourth,' calls attention to the manner in which Lord Belmore was hurried off, in 1828, as Governor of Jamaica, without any instructions, save the formal ones given in writing to every Governor, and without any conversation with any of the authorities about the state of the colony, or their views respecting it; and shows how that nobleman's proposition, to remain until the Bills passed by the Colonial Legislature should come home for consideration, was met by the assurance that Parliament would then be in session, and would have no time to attend to the affairs of Jamaica. He then adds; 'And this is the way our Colonies are governed! Stephen, then law-adviser to the Colonial office, to whom I told this, said he was not surprised, for that Sir George Murray, then Secretary of State, did nothing—never wrote a dispatch—had only once, since he has been in office, seen Taylor, who has got all the West Indies under his care.' Vol. 2, p. 125. It is not at all strange that an Act which only affected the interests of a Methodist minister, in a distant colony, should, at a period nearly thirty years earlier, have been considered beneath the attention of the Government.

had confessed that he had preached after the enactment of the law; a statement which the missionary declared to be false. In summing up the case, the Attorney General appealed to the popular prejudice, by the assertion that the Methodists had been the cause of the rebellion in America, the revolution in France, and the disturbances in Ireland.

Mr. Esten, who continued throughout life to look back upon his defence of Stephenson with great pleasure, conducted the defence with marked ability.[14] The annals of jurisprudence present few cases in which an upright lawyer could base more powerful appeals on justice, as interpreted by the Word of God, and by the statutes of the realm. He asserted liberty of conscience to be the birth-right of every British subject; appealed to the constitution of the mother country; showed that legislators might make laws which it would be the most exalted virtue to violate; and that the prisoner stood charged with the violation of a law, which it would be improper and impossible to obey. But arguments, appeals, remarks upon the insufficiency of the evidence to sustain the charges preferred, or upon the disgrace of convicting the prisoner upon these charges on any amount of evidence, were lost upon a Court, with whom the conviction of the prisoner seemed to be a foregone conclusion. The Chief Justice acknowledged that the missionary was not liable to prosecution previously to the passage of the Act under which he had been arrested; but, nevertheless, charged the jury to find him guilty. One of the jurors hesitated to act upon the judge's advice, but was overpowered by the clamors of the

[14] Speech of James C. Esten, Esq., Chief Justice of Bermuda, at the Anniversary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, London, 1825.

majority. Stephenson was therefore found guilty of 'holding a prayer-book in his hands, and of reading prayers to a congregation.' For this grievous offence, he was sentenced to be 'confined six months in the common jail, to pay fifty pounds, and to discharge all the fees of the court.' To the 'common jail' on the 6th of December, 1800, the very day on which Dr. Coke presented his memorial to the King in Council, Stephenson accordingly went.

Five weeks after the commencement of his imprisonment, the Governor sent Stephenson a message, offering him his freedom on condition of his departure from the islands within sixty days. This offer he declined to accept, as dishonorable to the cause on behalf of which he was suffering. He, however, proposed, in case of liberation, to give bail for the observance of the law, while it should continue in force. The Governor refused to open the doors of the prison on this condition; and all correspondence between the persecutor and his victim ceased.

Peter Pallas, Stephenson's former companion in prison, did not again accompany his friend to the jail. His trial, for having opened his dwelling for the preaching of Jesus and the resurrection, was postponed until the next assizes. Bodily indisposition under which he labored; or, as seems more probable, satisfaction with the silence inflicted upon the criminal-in-chief, and hesitation to act in further defiance of public opinion, led the enemies of the truth to defer the prosecution of Mr. Pallas. The mercy shown him was, however, more in appearance than in reality. They continued to punish him, by holding him under bail, and keeping him in a state of alarm by the secret operation of suspended law. 'His person,' says Coke, 'was at liberty, while his pocket was

compelled to suffer by preparation for the eventful day, which still frowned upon him in the distance.' Eight years later, when Joshua Marsden landed at St. George's, and, after delivering a letter of introduction to the successor of Governor Beckwith, paid 'four dollars for a boat' to carry him to Mr. Pallas, 'the only Methodist' in the islands, he found at Hamilton a 'sickly old man, worn with affliction, and harassed with persecution.' Three years after this interview, the old man passed away. Domestic trials had eclipsed to some extent the light of the Gospel, but for several months before his death he rose into the clear sunshine. Though bed-ridden, and worn to a skeleton, he rejoiced unspeakably in prospect of everlasting life. His dying words proved a blessing to many. Among the martyrs and confessors of the Lord Jesus, 'Peter Pallas, of Hamilton, silversmith,' may claim an humble place.

In the jail at St. George's, John Stephenson was not alone. Few earthly friends stood within his prison walls: not many had the influence to reach, or the disposition to enter, his solitary room, as had his true friend, Mr. Esten; but the Lord stood with him; the 'truth' made him free. In his life within those walls there were lights and shadows, as in life beyond such barriers. 'I have had,' he wrote on the 18th of February, 1801, 'some sorrowful times in prison, and some joyous ones.' 'To God be all the glory for every blessing.' Through the grating of his prison window he frequently exhorted the 'listening, and often weeping blacks,' to turn from sin to Christ. Others listened to him. Among the more prominent recollections of childhood, cherished by an aged white member of the Methodist church at St. George's, lately translated to the Church above, were those of the occasions on which,

drawn by a strange attraction to the yard of the prison, she had heard words of truth from Stephenson's prison-pulpit. At other times, Christian joy found utterance in holy song, as when Paul and Silas in the dungeon at Philippi, 'sang praises to God, and the prisoners heard them.' Marsden tells us that Stephenson, 'having a good voice, made the prison vocal with his praises, which were so loud that a gentleman, one of his persecutors, living in the vicinity of the prison, finding his conscience disturbed, earnestly requested that he would either discontinue them or sing softly, but the good man, having been robbed of his liberty, was not to be cajoled out of his happiness, and so he sang on.'

The opening of the prison doors came at last. On the 6th of June, 1801, the term of imprisonment expired, and Stephenson left the prison. For many years, visitors could read, on the cedar floor of the room, an inscription cut by the prisoner:—

'John Stephenson,
Methodist Missionary,
Was imprisoned in this jail six months,
and fined fifty pounds,
For preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ to African
blacks and captive negroes.
St. George's, Bermuda,
June, 1801.'

Upon his liberation, Stephenson found the members of his flock generally faithful to their profession. It soon became necessary for him to leave them, as sheep without a shepherd. Private efforts to aid them involved great anxiety, An old resident was accustomed to tell with what care the doors and windows of a dwelling near the 'Flatts' were closed, before the persecuted minister dared to kneel in prayer with the parents of a dying

child. Public efforts to benefit them were still interdicted by the unjust law which British legislators had not found time to annul. With little opportunity to engage in Christian work, and with a constitution impaired by the trials and confinement through which he had passed, Stephenson was recalled. Early in 1802, to the great satisfaction of those who hoped to enjoy the pleasures of sin without interruption, and to the great sorrow of those who recognised in him a faithful servant of God, whose face they should see no more, he left Bermuda, and returned to Ireland. At the Conference of 1802 he was appointed to a circuit in his native land, but the shock received by his constitution had been so severe, that at the end of the year he was obliged to retire from the ranks of the active ministry. He, however, continued to preach, as health permitted, till within a few years of his death. 'He was a man of sincere piety and warm friendship, and was zealous for his God. His end was triumphant.' So said his brethren, in a brief obituary notice, inserted in the Minutes of 1819.

CHAPTER XVII.

METHODISM IN BERMUDA, FROM THE DEPARTURE OF JOHN STEPHENSON IN 1802, TO THE SUMMER OF 1813.

Results of the Act passed in 1805. Difficulty in finding a successor to Stephenson. Black's unsuccessful attempt to reach the Islands. Conversion of a Member of the Council. Appointment of Joshua Marsden to Bermuda. His arrival in 1808. Opposition of the inhabitants. Kind reception by the Governor. Removal of minor difficulties. Marsden's first sermon. State of morals at St. George's. The Episcopal clergy of that day. Indications of interest. Formation of a Society. Richard M. Higgs. Incident. Varied character of the Missionary's work. Turning of the tide. Removal of Marsden to Hamilton. Successful services. Grant of land by the Corporation of Hamilton for a Methodist Church. Growth of the membership at St. George's. Class on board H. M. S. Indian. Erection of a place of worship at Hamilton. Opening services. Organization of a Methodist Church. Efforts to benefit the colored people. Trials and triumphs. Appointment of James Dunbar to Bermuda. His arrival. Grief at Marsden's departure. His success. His detention in the United States. His return to England. Subsequent life. Dunbar's organization of the Church. Pleasing prospects in Bermuda in the summer of 1812.

Seldom has a law been framed to suit so well the intentions of its authors as that which passed the legislature of Bermuda, during the session of 1800. It not only closed the lips, and took away the liberty of Stephenson, and prevented the exercise of that local ministry which has placed Methodism, in nearly all her home and foreign fields, under deep obligation to pious and intelligent laymen; but, by the insertion of the clause which rendered the person who should open his dwelling liable to an equal penalty with him who should unlawfully teach or preach in it, it aimed an effective blow at those social services, by which the strong have often been cheered, and the weak sustained, in the entire absence of ministerial oversight.

For some time the scattered flock had reason to hope for the arrival of another pastor. Though the name of Bermuda was not to be found on the Minutes of 1801, Coke sought, it appears, the consent of John Baxter, a successful West Indian missionary, to undertake the mission; but Baxter did not think fit to make the attempt. In the following year the name of the islands re-appeared on the list of foreign stations. Appended to it was the name of a young man who had been converted under the ministry of Abraham Bishop in Grenada, and who, upon Bishop's death, had been appointed his successor. The appointment was, however, a provisional one. 'If Brother Hallett,' it was stated in a note at the end of the list of appointments, 'do not choose to go to Bermuda, we appoint him to Trinidad.' Francis Hallett preferred to remain in the West Indies, where he made full proof of his ministry. In 1803, James Lowry, one of the four young men who had accompanied Black from England to Nova Scotia in the year 1800, was placed under orders for Bermuda; but Lowry, who was quite unfitted by disposition and habits for a mission of a so delicate character, had reported himself unfit for work; and requesting leave to return to England, had made arrangements to meet Dr. Coke late in the autumn in New York, and to carry to England such portions of his Commentary as that unwearied worker might be able to prepare during his voyage to America. During these years, the instructions published in 1800, by which permission was given to any missionaries, whose health might require a change, to visit Bermuda, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, remained in force; but it may be imagined that to any weary, persecuted, fever-stricken West Indian missionary, acquainted with Stephenson's experience, the mention of 'liberty to visit Bermuda' must have seemed like a piece of grim raillery.

Coke was then resting, in his peculiar way, at Raithby Hall, Lincolnshire, where Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq., had made a pleasant home for himself, and an attractive halting-place for his fellow itinerants as well. While making preparations there for his ninth voyage across the Atlantic, Coke resolved to seek among the preachers in the United States one who might be sent upon the difficult mission. His search in that quarter was not successful. Daniel Fidler, who had won good report in Nova Scotia, looked upon the mission as some others had done, and like them, said in response to the Doctor's personal appeal, 'I pray thee have me excused.' Coke then fixed his eye on William Black, of Nova Scotia, whom he earnestly requested to visit the islands, and, if possible, to remove his family thither, to remain three or four years. On Black's acceptance of the mission, the Doctor wrote him ,in a hurried, but enthusiastic note, dated, 'On the Delaware, June 3rd, 1804;' 'If there be an opening in Bermuda, don't be in the least afraid of drawing on me for what you want. If the taking of your family to Bermuda, furnishing a house, etc., require two hundred pounds, draw on me for it without the least scruple. I know your economy well. Go on in the name of the Lord your God, and remember, "Thy God reigneth." ' 'I have no doubt,' the Doctor wrote to the Methodists of Halifax, 'but he will have a society of six hundred or a thousand members, in Bermuda, in four years.' Black's name appeared in connection with Bermuda, in the 'Minutes' of 1804; but he also failed to reach the islands. He proceeded to Boston, and thence to New York. At the latter place he engaged his passage, and took his trunk on board a vessel bound for his destination, but several Bermudians, who had been associated with the persecutors of Stephenson, refused to

proceed in the vessel if he were permitted to go. The captain yielded to their solicitations, and sent the missionary's trunk on shore. No other opportunity having offered, Black consulted with the ministers in New York, and in August, 1804, returned to Halifax. In May, 1806, Coke wrote to him, urging him to repeat the attempt. 'We know of no one,' he said, 'who will do for that island as well as you. And hundreds of the poor people there, who long for the Gospel, seem to be perishing for lack of knowledge. All persecution is removed. One of the greatest persecutors is himself converted to God. God Himself has opened the door, and opened it, I verily believe, for you. Go in the name of the Lord.' Black consented to renew the attempt, on condition of the appointment of two or three other missionaries to Nova Scotia; but the petition addressed to the British Conference by all his brethren, at the ensuing meeting of the ministers of the Nova Scotia District, prevailed; and he remained in charge of the missions in the Lower Provinces.

Coke's zeal was of that character which finds a stimulus in temporary failure. The intelligence, which from time to time reached him respecting Bermuda, also nerved him to greater effort in behalf of the inhabitants of that group. At Hamilton, where Stephenson had labored, serious declension had taken place; but at St. George's, then the seat of Government, signs of an encouraging character had appeared. Governor Beckwith had left the island. One of the members of the Council, prominent in his opposition to Stephenson, had, during a visit to England, been led into the way of truth; and on his return had not hesitated to make the fact known to his neighbors. He made no attempt to preach, but sought to use his influence as the head of a household for

God. Each morning and evening he read a portion of Scripture, accompanied by an exposition, and followed by prayer with the members of his household and as many of his neigbors as were disposed to attend. Through these quiet efforts several persons professed to have been led into the path of life. Early in 1806, to the sorrow of these, he removed from the islands. During the spring of that year, Samuel Sellon, a pious and judicious leader at Halifax, who had spent two months in Bermuda on business connected with the Dockyard, assured Dr. Coke through Black, that a Methodist minister of judicious conduct would meet with no opposition from the Governor, and would, without doubt, be the instrument of 'considerable good.' [1]

In November, 1807, Joshua Marsden was laboring with zeal and success in the city of St. John, N. B., when he received a letter from the authorities of the British Conference, and another from Dr. Coke, informing him of his appointment to Bermuda. 'These letters,' said Marsden, 'were as unwelcome to flesh and blood, as smoke to the eyes, or vinegar to the teeth. I had great reason to doubt whether I had either wisdom, prudence, patience, or faith, sufficient for such a mission. Still I could not refuse. The will of my brethren seemed to be the appointment of Providence.' Colonel Bayard, whom Marsden met soon after the receipt of the unwelcome intelligence, encouraged him to proceed, by a promise of a letter of introduction to the Governor of Bermuda, with whom he was acquainted; and by an offer to receive his family into his own house, if it should be thought more prudent for him to proceed to the mission alone. The lateness of the season rendered delay in departure until the following spring, a matter of necessity; and

[1] 'Methodist Magazine,' 1806; p. 237.

gave Marsden and his wife opportunity to look at their difficult mission at their leisure. A resolution of the Conference of 1807, containing the first official utterance of that body upon the subject of slavery, contributed to increase perplexity, and to lessen their prospect of a favorable reception. 'The Conference determines,' it was said in their Minutes for that year, 'that none of our preachers employed in the West Indies shall be at liberty to marry any person who will not previously emancipate, in the legal methods, all the slaves of whom she may be possessed; and if any our brethren there, already married, have by such marriage, or in any other way, become proprietors of slaves, we require those brethren to take immediate and effectual steps for their emancipation.' Marsden and his wife sought the solution of these difficulties by looking 'unto the hills,' whence cometh help. From the time that notice of their appointment reached them, each Friday was set apart by them as a day of special prayer in reference to the future mission.

Early in April, 1808, they went on board a schooner bound to the Bahamas, the captain having agreed to call at Bermuda to land them. After a passage of fourteen days, during which they experienced every kindness from all on board, but during the last five days of which they encountered great danger from a succession of severe gales, they came in sight of the islands. The thoughts of Joshua Marsden's heart that night were not of a joyous character. The 'softness of the air, with its balmy sweetness coming from the green cedars,' and 'the prospect of being on shore,' failed to give 'elasticity' to his spirits. 'My faith,' he wrote, 'was staggered with fear that I should not be received. None on board knew the weight that was pressing on my spirits. * * *

I was a solitary man, ready to be dropped into the midst of enemies. Nature and unbelief whispered, 'What doest thou here Elijah?': all but myself looked forward to the morning with pleasure. I often looked ashore as the mild evening fell upon the sky, but there I saw no anchor ground for my aching heart; the courage and confidence in God that had given my mind a fearless tone during the late storm had now fled. I could have wept, but I strove to save appearances.' On the following morning a pilot came off from the shore, and guided the 'Mary Ann' through the narrow and winding channel, into the beautiful little harbor of St. George's. Marsden was not sufficiently recovered from his baptism of grief to admire, as he afterwards did, under happier circumstances, the beauties of that little, land-locked, harbor, in which, as the poet Moore remarks, 'the number of little islets, the singular clearness of the water, and the animated play of the graceful little boats gliding for ever between the islands, and seeming to sail from one cedar grove into another, form altogether the sweetest miniature of nature that can be imagined.'

The experiences of the morning were not calculated to encourage the despondent missionary. To several gentlemen, who came on board soon after the vessel had reached her anchorage, Captain Beattie communicated the object of his visit. Marsden, standing on another part of the deck, observed the dissatisfaction with which they received the intelligence, and the scornful glances cast by them towards the spot where he stood. Before returning to the shore they assured the captain that a law was in force, by which his passenger, as soon as he should land, would be apprehended and sent to prison. Determined to know the worst, Marsden soon after landed, and called upon Governor Hodgson, to present the letter

from Colonel Bayard. His Excellency, being engaged, requested him to call on the following morning. In search of Methodists, of none of whom he could hear, save Peter Pallas, he hired a boat to take him to Hamilton. He found the old man—who, to his sorrows endured for righteousness sake, had added the self-inflicted troubles resulting from an ill-assorted marriage,—'pressed down to the earth by poverty, affliction, and persecution.' Mr. Pallas gave him a detailed account of his personal trials and persecution; informed him that, through deaths, and removals, and persecution, very few of those raised up through Stephenson's ministry could be found; and expressed an opinion that, as nothing definite respecting the repeal of the penal statute had transpired, it was doubtful whether he would be permitted to preach, or whether any person would be disposed to incur the risk of opening his house for worship. With a sad heart, which sometimes found relief in tears, Marsden returned to St. George's. Unable to procure lodgings on shore, every house being filled with officers of the army and navy, who were gathered there to proceed to the attack on Martinique, he returned to the vessel. There he was encouraged by the calmness of Mrs. Marsden, who, in reliance upon 'exceeding great and precious promises' which the Spirit had brought to her remembrance, possessed her soul in patience as she awaited the results of her husband's inquiries.

Temptations to act the part of a Jonah were neither few nor slight. The members of the vestry of St. George's had been called together to consult how the missionary might be sent away, or prevented from preaching; and several persons who had been on board had privately assured the captain that his passengers would not be allowed to remain. At the same time a

vessel lay in the harbor bound for New York, where Mrs. Marsden's parents now resided; and Captain Beattie, who had been on shore, and had seen the spirit manifested by some of the inhabitants, urged Marsden to go with him to the Bahamas, and offered him and his wife a passage there, and back to New Brunswick, adding in his blunt seaman-like manner, 'They are not worthy of a missionary, let them die in their sins.'

Marsden's conclusions now depended upon the course which should be adopted by the Governor. According to appointment, he waited upon him on the following morning. The Governor received him with respect, and assured him that he would do all in his power to aid him in his mission, for the sake of his friend Colonel Bayard. He also sent for the Chief Justice and the Attorney General, that he might learn from them whether any law existed to prevent Marsden from preaching. The Chief Justice examined the letter from Colonel Bayard, and another from William Campbell, Esq., Mayor of St. John, N. B., and also the documents belonging to Marsden as a Methodist minister, yet demurred because he had not received ordination according to the rites of the Episcopal Church. The Attorney General, who was none other than James Christie Esten, Esq., Stephenson's counsel, gave an opinion that no law remained in force to interfere with the prosecution of Marsden's mission. Marsden then asked for a license, but the Chief Justice objected to grant it without consultation with the Council. He was then dismissed, with liberty to preach for the present, and the promise of a license, if the Council should see fit to grant it. The licence was never received, and was never required. The Governor fulfilled his promise, made for the sake of his former friend, Colonel Bayard. It is not improbable

that Marsden's immunity from attempted disturbance by the Legislature, was, in part, a result of the serious dissensions between Governor Hodgson and the colonial representatives, which commenced about the time of Marsden's arrival, and continued until the departure of the Governor, in 1810.

Difficulties of a minor character yet remained; but through these the Lord gently led His servant. On the day on which permission was given him to preach, he took his wife and child to the hotel. His money was wholly expended; but a 'perfect stranger,' who was leaving the islands, took his draft for fifty pounds, and thus enabled him to pay his passage money, and keep a sum on hand for future expenses. The charges at the hotel were enormous, and the room occupied could not be used for preaching; but a sergeant of the Royal Artillery, previously unknown to Marsden, searched the town, and informed him that rooms, which an officer under orders for Halifax was about to leave, might be immediately obtained. These were gladly hired. 'Having got our baggage into our rooms, we felt,' writes Marsden, 'as lively a satisfaction as though we had taken possession of a palace.'

In one of these rooms, on the following Sunday morning, Joshua Marsden commenced his ministry in Bermuda. His landlord, Daniel Melliroy, a free man of color, gave notice of the intended service on Saturday evening; but only ten persons listened on the following morning to an exposition of the command; 'Preach the Gospel to every creature.' Five of these were, Mrs. Marsden, the captain and mate of the schooner, and the supercargo and his wife; the others were colored people belonging to the family of the landlord.

Stephenson had preached almost wholly in the

'country,' as the western part of the islands, including Hamilton, was then called; Marsden, on the contrary, gave the larger share of his early labors to the town of St. George's. In no part of the island was the necessity for spiritual cultivation more pressing. 'Before Mr. Marsden's arrival,' said the stewards and leaders, in an address to the British Conference in September, 1809, 'the people were in as gross darkness with respect to religion as possibly could be. In St. George's, where the society has been raised, formerly nothing but vice abounded, with scarcely even a show of religion, save a little formal worship maintained during a small part of the forenoon of the Lord's day.' Nor, if there be any truth in the adage, 'like priest, like people,' could it well have been otherwise. Strange tales are told, on good authority, of the Bermudian clergy of that day. An aged resident of St. George's used to relate that during boyhood, he, one day, while standing on the Market square, received a ringing blow on the ear from the hand of a clergyman, of whose presence he was not previously aware. The moral of the lesson, received as he turned around to ascertain 'the why and the wherefore,' was, 'Remember, my lad, to make a bow whenever you meet a clergyman.' The same ecclesiastic one day found himself in a dilemma, between an invitation to dine at the regimental mess, and a subsequent request to attend the funeral of one of his parishioners across the harbor. A fortunate solution of the difficulty presented itself, and enabled him to combine pleasure and duty. The window of a room in the parsonage overlooked the harbor, and afforded a view of the opposite island. In that room he read the service for the burial of the dead, guiding the movements of the party at the grave on the island by signals made by a candle at the window. Upon

the removal of the candle the party proceeded to bury their dead, and the clergyman to the quarters of his military friends. These vagaries were, however, more excusable than certain facts connected with his own mode of living, or with that of a brother clergyman, whose irregularities became so frequent and so marked that his parishioners at last placed before him the alternative of marriage or dismissal; or of another whose extravagant living, and frequent losses at the gaming table, led him on a certain Sabbath morning, while his congregation at the parish church waited long for him, to take a hasty farewell, by going on board a man-of-war, just leaving the islands. It is only justice to add that the morals of the men who occupy the pulpits in which these formerly stood, present, generally, a bright contrast to those of their predecessors.

To disarm prejudice, and to prove that he was not an enemy to the Episcopal Church, Marsden occasionally attended the services of that Church, and avoided the holding of his own at the same hour as much as possible. To do this was not difficult; as the Episcopal minister, preaching but once on each Sabbath, had to perform duty in four parishes. His own congregation steadily increased. Six weeks after his arrival, not less than sixty persons listened to him. Among these were some whites of the more respectable class. Indications of interest in his message, and sympathy with his efforts, which under other circumstances might have been of less value, cheered the heart of the missionary. Several whites and a few colored people appeared thoughtful, knelt at prayer, and also lingered as the congregation withdrew, to speak with him; then little presents of fruit, and of water, which at the time was very scarce in the islands, were sent in; then one morning fifteen dol-

lars were brought to him to pay for the sum expended in fitting up the room with seats; and soon after, arrangements were made to pay the rent of his lodgings. Several respectable colored people, among whom was his landlord Melliroy, asked permission to be present with the missionary and his family at domestic worship. Two free women of color were the first to wait upon him for spiritual instruction. A venerable old colored man, named Burgess, and all his family, became attendents at his services, and nearly all of them soon gave evidence of real conversion. The old man, though nearly seventy years of age, began to learn to read, and, when Marsden left the islands three years later, was able, by the occasional spelling of a word, to read a psalm. His wife became one of the most pious and humble Christians of that day in Bermuda.

Among those whites who soon became regular attendants upon Marsden's ministry at St. George's, were several young men who had attended the private meetings held by the gentleman whose conversion in England has been mentioned; and who from the time of his departure had been waiting for a ministry such as that with which they were now blessed. 'We still remain in number as when you left us,' they had written in June 1806, to one of their number who had returned to England. 'We have preaching only once a month by one of the ministers from the country. Intervening Lord's days are spent we trust for our souls' good. We had, as you know, a private meeting on week days at the house of Mr. ———, that friend of the Cross, but he has lately left the island, and the meeting has dwindled away. Thus we are left destitute of the means, but it is the Lord who hath ordered it. We have been hitherto supported through every trial, and though left in a dry

land, we have no doubt but that the Lord will refresh us in His own time by the sending of His servants among us, and that, meanwhile, He will bless our perseverance in His ways.' 'Our dwelling,' they added, 'is, as it were, among wolves, but we will look to Jesus. If God be for us, who shall be against us?' These young men, recognizing in Marsden the leader for whom they had waited, at a period when connection with Methodism involved a struggle resembling that of breaking through the restrictions of caste in the East, offered themselves for membership. They were accepted, and were included in the Methodist Church of forty members, white and colored, formed by Marsden in June, 1808. The initials of the five young men, from whose letter, written in 1806, a paragraph has been quoted, nearly all correspond with the names of the leaders and stewards affixed to the address forwarded from St. George's, in 1809, to the British Conference. Three sisters of the name of Rankin, a name honorably associated with Methodism in that town, in the past, and at the present, were also among the earliest members of the infant church.

The most prominent member of this little society was probably John Darrell; but another, through his talents, public position, and longer life, became the representative man of Methodism in Bermuda. This was Richard M. Higgs, Esq. For many years he devoted his superior abilities and energies to the promotion of the cause of Christ. During that period, no man had more to do with the maintenance of the spiritual and financial interests of the Church in his native islands, than he. Inflexibly firm as a Methodist, and therefore 'the friend of all, and the enemy of none,' he knew nothing of that foolish deference which has too often been paid in Bermuda to the self-asserted claims of the clerical representatives

of a dominant Church. On the contrary, he wisely judged that the day had not passed, when, for the 'defence and confirmation of the Gospel,' the independent course, pursued by Paul towards the arbitrary magistrates of Philippi, might not be followed with safety. In the light of a recent decision of the English Privy Council, respecting ecclesiastical titles, one instance illustrative of Mr. Higgs' independence will be of interest. As a collector for the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he called, soon after the formation of a branch of that Society in Bermuda, among others, upon the Methodist minister, whose contribution was duly credited upon the list to the Rev. William Sutcliffe. Soon after, he called upon an Episcopal chaplain in the army or navy. Mr. Higgs, as the latter placed his own name upon the paper, garnished with the usual ministerial prefix, saw him glance over the list, and draw his pen through a word. On receiving the list, he found that the chaplain had attempted to erase the title allowed by courtesy to the Methodist minister. Taking the pen, he immediately drew it through the similar title which the chaplain had prefixed to his own name. The latter, highly incensed, carried his complaint to the Governor, who desired Mr. Higgs to wait upon him. At the time appointed, he presented himself before his Excellency, with whom he found the chaplain and several of his friends. The Governor stated the chaplain's grievance. Mr. Higgs, in reply, courteously informed his Excellency that he considered the matter to be beyond his jurisdiction, and referred the party aggrieved to the civil law. At the same time he informed the parties present that the civil law could do nothing in the case. 'The title Reverend,' he observed, 'is but one of courtesy. You regard the Episcopal clergyman as your minister, and speak of him in a certain

style; I regard Mr. Sutcliffe as my minister, and speak of him in the same way.' The determined Methodist soon after left the Government House, having given small satisfaction to the aggrieved chaplain. In 1824, Mr. Higgs was elected one of the representatives for the parish of St. George's, in the House of Assembly. That position he continued to hold for many years, during which he was the well-known advocate of every liberal measure for the public good. Towards the close of life some differences of opinion between himself, and some other official members of the Methodist church at St. George's, led him for a time to attend the services of the Church from which in early life he had withdrawn; but failing to find in these the assistance he needed, he returned to those of the Church of his adoption. A Methodist minister was privileged to stand beside him at the close of life, and watch him as he prepared, at a good old age, to depart to the rest, into which so many of the early Methodists of Bermuda had preceeded him. He took his departure, to join these, in September 1851.

The work of the pastor was of a varied character. The religious instruction of the colored people was rendered difficult by their inability to read. He therefore persuaded one of the young men, who had come to his assistance, to open a school for their children. Many of them learned quickly, and in turn instructed their parents. A Sunday school, opened soon after Marsden's arrival at St. George's, by some ladies of that town, under the patronage of Lady Warren, for the instruction of the colored children, also proved an assistance to the missionary. To teach them to sing was less difficult. A quick ear for music, and a good voice, are gifts possessed by the African race in a peculiar degree. A military bandmaster, whose band had for some time practiced a

certain piece of music, supposed to be of a very difficult character, was surprised, on the morning after it had first been played on the Market square, to hear a colored lad, whistling in one of the streets of St. George's, render the most difficult passages with perfect correctness. A young man from England undertook to teach Marsden's congregation the rudiments of music, and succeeded in establishing excellent singing. At that time, this branch of worship was dispensed with in several churches of the island. A regimental band then performed the musical part of the services at the parish church of St. George's.

Contempt was sometimes shewn. The little society was sometimes called the 'Negro Club;' and the pastor honored with the title of the 'Negro Parson.' The contempt shewn the pastor became persecution in the case of several of his flock, who were cruelly treated on account of their attendance at the services held in Melliroy's room. That place soon proved to be too small. An application having been made to Governor Hodgson for the grant of a small lot of land near the town, on which to erect a small church, he promised, if the land were not already granted, to do all in his power to obtain it for the purpose proposed, and requested Marsden to return to learn the result of his inquiries. The tide had already turned. In August 1808, the members in society had increased to fifty, of whom twelve were whites. Regular services had been established at St. George's, Brackish Pond, Spanish Point, Hamilton, and Harris' Bay. Occasional sermons had also been preached at St. David's, the Crawl, and Mangrove Bay. At Somerset, a small society had also been formed during the month of September. And before the close of that year, a person who had been one of the chief instruments in

procuring the passage of the law by which Stephenson's condemnation had been secured, had, through some transgression, become an occupant of the very room, on the floor of which Stephenson had briefly recorded with his penknife, his sufferings in his Master's service.

At the commencement of the year 1809, no society had been formed at Hamilton. Marsden, who had removed to Devonshire parish in the autumn of 1808, removed thence to Hamilton early in the following year. He had previously preached at an inn, in that place, but few had come to hear. After his removal, he hired a long room over some stores, capable of accommodating about one hundred hearers, for a preaching place. This room was soon crowded on the Sabbath, and frequently on the week-evenings. Several whites, at this time, became deeply interested in the Gospel as preached by Marsden. One of these, who in later days became the wife of a Wesleyan missionary, had, though but a child, previously expressed a desire to hear the preacher, but had been prevented from listening to him by her mother. One evening she threw her bonnet from a window, and putting it on in the street, walked to the forbidden place. Marsden preached about those who were first called Christians at Antioch. While listening to him she inwardly prayed, 'Lord make me one of them.' Marsden, seeing the young girl's timidity about returning home, offered to accompany her. The mother, pleased with his manners and conversation, not only ceased to oppose her child's wishes, but, at the formation of the society a few months later, she, with her two daughters, united with it, and continued to be a worthy member to the close of life. Encouraged by the attendance, and by the friendly spirit of several merchants; and convinced that the accomplishment of his mission, in relation to the

colored people, could only be reached by the erection of a place of worship, Marsden resolved in March, 1809, to make an appeal to the public in behalf of that object. With fear and trembling, he set out, accompanied by a friend, to wait upon several men of property. From these he received, in the course of a few days, the promise of nearly six hundred dollars. Grown bolder, he presented a petition to the Corporation of Hamilton, asking for the grant of a piece of land for a chapel and mission-house. After some hesitation, they agreed to grant him the lot on which the old church now stands, and to sell him that on which the parsonage is built. 'Would you think,' he wrote to friend in Nova Scotia, 'that some of the same magistrates who sent Mr. Stephenson to prison for preaching the Gospel, would give me a lot of land to build the chapel upon, to preach the Gospel in? And yet so it is. The magistrates and Corporation of the town of Hamilton, upon my petitioning them, have given me a lot of land to build upon. The earth,' added the astonished and grateful missionary, 'is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, and he has the hearts of all men in his hands.' From a vessel in distress, the cargo of which was sold at public auction, Marsden purchased sufficient timber for the building. He then drew up a plan, and in August, 1809, commenced the erection of the new church.

The number of members at St. George's continued to increase. Though resident at Hamilton, much of Marsden's time was spent at St. George's. Three of the young men were placed in charge of the one white, and two colored, classes, already formed. Eighty-one members were reported at the end of July. Included in this number were a Lieutenant, and seven or eight seamen of H. M. Ship Indian, who formed a class on board that vessel.

The superintendence of the building at Hamilton devolved wholly upon Marsden. With the collection of subscriptions, the employment of workmen, the gathering of materials, and attention to the numerous religious services on his plan, he was at times nearly exhausted. A deep interest in the Master's work, however, carried him through his herculean task. Occasionally a visit from persons of influence cheered him. The Governor, his Aide-de-camp, and the Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, when passing through Hamilton, visited the spot; expressed much satisfaction with the plan of the building, and the intention of the builder; and then each, according to a custom of that day, laid a stone. The act had its influence in certain quarters; and subscriptions flowed in more freely. From the corner-stone, Marsden preached, taking for his text, 'Upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Although the building was not completed until later in the year, he had the pleasure in March, 1810, of entering the pulpit of the first Methodist church in Bermuda, to which he had given the name of 'Zion;' and of preaching to a congregation of four or five hundred persons, from those appropriate words, 'This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.' This neat and commodious building, sixty feet in length by twenty-eight in breadth, was built of the soft white sandstone, always used for building purposes in Bermuda. Large numbers continued to attend the services held in it. In that part allotted to the whites, between two and three hundred were usually found; while the colored people were not slow to avail themselves of their new privilege. The opening of the place of worship was followed by the organization of a church, consisting of sixty members. Among these were some

whose names are yet lovingly remembered by the elder Methodists of the islands. An aged Methodist, whose brightest recollections seemed to be those of visits in childhood to the church erected by Marsden, remarked concerning that time, that it seemed as if a great light had shined in Bermuda. Even the children in the streets sang the songs of praise taught in the new sanctuary.

In Hamilton, as at St. George's, the missionary devoted a good portion of his time to the interests of the colored people. One evening in each week he devoted to a lecture for their special benefit. A gift of a number of Bibles and Testaments from England awakened a desire for education. A Sunday-school was therefore commenced, and a pious lady undertook to instruct the slaves, numbers of whom soon learned to read the New Testament. Marsden was not a little gratified, as he journeyed to his appointments, by seeing them seated at the road-side, with a spelling-book, sometimes asking the white children to teach them, sometimes soliciting the missionary himself to hear them repeat a lesson. To encourage them he gave them Testaments and tracts, and composed a small book of hymns for their use.

He was not without his trials. His efforts to instruct the colored people called forth angry utterances, 'not once nor twice.' When he set apart a certain evening in the week for their special training, and for the correction of crude notions respecting religion prevalent among them, the Mayor of Hamilton wrote him a very severe letter; and when he published his hymn-book, a copy was forwarded to the Governor, and another to the Attorney General, in consequence of certain allusions to spiritual freedom, supposed by some to be of a dangerous character. The Attorney General was, however, pleased to say that 'it was admirably calculated to promote their instruc-

tion.' The departure in June, 1810, of Governor Hodgson, who had been his firm friend, left Marsden exposed to the attacks of those who still looked with jealousy upon the infant mission, but through care and watchfulness any serious difficulty was avoided.

There were trials too of a different character; trials in which the smile of joy chases away the tear of sorrow, and the feelings of the soul find their most appropriate expression in those hymns of triumph, which, sung by the early English Methodists as they carried their 'dead in Christ' to the grave, conquered bitter persecutors. For even then, the Bermudian mission sent home an occasional delegate to the 'General Assembly and Church of the first-born'; and death-bed scenes proved powerful helpers in recommending the Gospel as preached by the Methodist missionary in the Methodist church, and in some humble dwellings in other parts of the beautiful Bermudian group.

In the autumn of 1811, Marsden began to look with a new interest upon his work. He was soon to give it into the charge of another, and leave for his native land. The partial failure of Mrs. Marsden's health, in 1809, had led the leading members of the church at St. George's to fear his early removal, and to address an earnest appeal to the Committee, that in the event of his departure they might not be left without a pastor. In accordance with this request, James Dunbar, at the Conference of 1811, was appointed to Bermuda. In January, 1812, he sailed from Portsmouth, and after a short and pleasant voyage, arrived at St. George's early in the following month. Marsden's wife and children had already reached New York. Thither he followed them in March. More than four hundred of the most respectable inhabitants of the island listened to his last

sermon, which could with difficulty be heard, for the weeping of those who sorrowed over his approaching departure. The same degree of grief was manifested as he stepped into the boat, to go on board the vessel which was to bear him away from the islands. Few of those who so deeply regretted his removal from Bermuda were able to form a just estimate of the results of his earnest labors. Eternity, in fact, can only reveal their importance. In the marked contrast between the circumstances of his arrival and departure, there was afforded, however, to the casual observer, an index to manifest changes. The man who had landed in the face of frowns departed, four years later, followed by tears and prayers; he who had hired a boat to take him to Hamilton, in search of the only Methodist of whom he could hear, and, after finding an infirm old man, crushed by threats of prosecution, and by troubles of a domestic character, had returned to the vessel in the harbor of St. George's, to be strengthened by the assurances of a praying wife, withdrew at the close of his short stewardship, leaving to his successor the care of one hundred and thirty members, many of whom were seals of his apostleship in the Lord, and some of whom lived to be pillars in the Church. The amount of their indebtedness to God, for Methodism and its agent, Joshua Marsden, the colored race in those islands have not yet comprehended. At the time of his arrival, they were regarded as little better than the beasts which perish. Serious offence was taken when Marsden had been in Bermuda but a short time, by a lady, generally regarded as humane and religious, who had placed him and his family under obligation by several little deeds of kindness. The cause of offence was the baptism of a child of one of her slaves. These, she affirmed, had no souls, and

could only receive baptism and the Lord's Supper by the most flagrant abuse of those sacred ordinances. The thought of furnishing church accommodation for slaves had scarcely entered the minds of their owners, previously to his arrival. Fully acquainted with the treatment which his predecessor had received, he, nevertheless, though with more tact, followed in the same path, and boldly assumed the rights of the colored race to enjoy the freedom wherewith Jesus makes His people free. An admission of this right, he well knew, must sooner or later involve a recognition of their right to human freedom.

Marsden, who on his departure from Bermuda had intended to meet his English brethren at their Conference in Leeds in 1812, found his plans thwarted. He had only been a few weeks in New York, at the residence of his wife's friends, when the declaration of war against Great Britain placed him, in common with a number of his countrymen, in the position of a prisoner. Through the influence of friends, a prisoner at large, he attended the General Conference, held in New York; and through the kindness of Asbury, and with the consent of the preachers, received an appointment for the year in that city, under the superintendence of Freeborn Garrettson. After a detention of more than two and a-half years he obtained a passport, and in October, 1814, embarked on board a flag-of-truce, bound for Havre de Grace. On the 17th of November, when off Torbay, the captain signalled some fishermen. From one of their boats Marsden and his family landed at Brixham. On reaching the shore, after an absence of fourteen years, he knelt down, and kissing the dust of his native land, returned thanks to Him who had guided him through his wanderings. He continued in the active work in English circuits until

1836, when increasing infirmities obliged him to become a supernumerary. Disease of a nervous kind caused him occasional struggles with 'sensitiveness of temper,' but in these, as well as during his last severe affliction, he was sustained by Almighty aid. On Sunday, July 30th, 1837, he preached his last sermon, in City Road Chapel, from Isaiah 60th, 5-8. It was a solemn sermon on a solemn subject. He seemed, to many of his hearers, to speak as if the grave were opened, and eternity unveiled before him. His appeals to the young for early dedication to Christ were peculiarly impressive. On the following Wednesday he was seized by an illness which precluded any hope of recovery. Through intense suffering he possessed his soul in patience, and in the intervals of pain assured his friends of his peace, and his conviction that all was well. A few moments before his death he exclaimed: 'Thou unutterable love! O, thou unutterable love! O, infinite love!' Then closing his eyes with beautiful tranquility, he died without a struggle. His body rests in the preacher's vault, in the south-east front of the City Road burying-ground, with the remains of Thomas Stanley, John James, Edmund Grindrod, Richard Treffry, John Smith, and other Methodist worthies, whose names 'were not born to die.'[2] Marsden was possessed of considerable talent. Some of his poetical compositions were of a highly respectable character; a few of them became popular favorites. As a preacher, he was distinguished by the variety of his topics, and by his earnest and moving appeals to the heart. To him, as a successful agent in turning many unto righteousness, belongs a place in the front ranks of the many excellent men whom British Methodism has sent to declare the truth as it is in Jesus to the colonists of British America.

[2] Stevenson's 'City Road Chapel,' p. 313.

James Dunbar, Marsden's successor in Bermuda, unlike the majority of the missionaries of that day, had had several years experience in the English work. He had been converted under a sermon preached by the Rev. Miles Martindale, and had been received on trial for the ministry in 1806. His experience had therefore fitted him to set the affairs of the Bermudian societies in proper order. 'Mr. Marsden,' he remarks, 'had done much, and, perhaps, everything considered, few men but himself could have accomplished what he did.' Yet much remained to be done in the way of proper organization. Stewards were appointed in the different parishes, and on the 24th of July, 1812, the first quarterly meeting in Bermuda was held at the residence of the circuit steward, Archibald Washington. In addition to the superintendent and circuit steward, Messrs. Benjamin S. Williams, Benjamin Atwood, and Daniel Melliroy, a free man of color, attended as society stewards, from Brackish Pond, Hamilton, and the Crawl. John Darrell, the steward from St. George's, was not present. In March, 1813, the building of the wall around the property, and the erection of the mission-house, at Hamilton, were commenced. In September of the same year, the missionary took possession of the dwelling.

Dunbar was at the same time successful in the discharge of the higher duties of his calling. 'His preaching,' his brethren say, 'was plain, clear, pointed, thoroughly evangelical, aiming more at usefulness than popularity; and he was diligent in visiting and instructing the people from house to house.' A West Indian missionary, who sought health in Bermuda, during a few weeks in the summer of 1812, gave the committee an encouraging statement respecting the mission. 'The state of the work in that island,' wrote Mr. Johnson, 'is much to

the credit of Mr. Marsden, whose name will long be remembered by many with affection and gratitude; and it gave me great pleasure to observe that Mr. Dunbar is almost equally beloved. Both rich and poor are friendly to religion, and a door is opened in every parish for the reception of the Gospel. Three preachers might find employment there; two, in my opinion, are certainly necessary.'[3] Causes, which have not been stated, led Dunbar to make free use of the pruning knife. The expulsion of a large proportion of the colored members at Bailey's Bay, and Hamilton, reduced the returns made in the summer of 1813, to the number of seventy-seven, twenty-nine of whom were white. A separate return of forty-eight communicants, nearly all resident at Hamilton, may also be found among the old records of Bermudian Methodism.

[3] 'Methodist Magazine, 1813, p. 77.

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